

THE
VIEWV OF
Fraunce.



IOHNI MORRIS.

London printed by Symon
Stafford, 1604.

φ

THE VIEWV OF FRANCE.



CÆSAR in his Commentaries, deu- *Caſar Com.*
deth the people of Gaule, into *Belgi,*
Celta, and *Aquitani,* parted the one *lib. I.*
from the other by the two Riuers of
Seine and *Garond:* the *Aquitani* from the
Celta by the *Garond:* the *Belgi* from the
Celta by the *Seine,* and theſe betweene the two Riuers.
According to which diuiſion, *Philip de Commi-*
deth France with two Seas, the Ocean and *P. Commi-*
Mediterraneus; with two Mountaynes, the Alpes and *nes.*
Pirencis,
and with one Riuer, the Rheine.

If I ſhould follow the direction of theſe two moſt *Limits.*
approved authorities, I muſt be forced to diſcourſe of
ſuch Princes, as are intereſſed in this large compaſſe, as
namely, the *Spaniſh King,* the *States of the low Countries,*
the Dukes of *Sauoy* and *Lorraine,* the Pope himſelfe, the
little City of *Geneua,* and others: but I onely purpoſe to
take a view of that which is directly vnder the Crowne
of France at this day, and thereof to giue a ſuperſiciall
relation.

France then is ſeated vnder a very temperate and *P. Commi-*
wholeſome Clymate, *En tout le monde il n'y a Région nes.*
mieux ſituée que celle de la France, car nous y tenons de région
chaude et auſſi de la froſd: There is no Countrey in the
world better ſcituatethen that of France: for it partici-
pateth of the Clymate both hote and cold. It is in
length from *Bologne* to *Marſeilles,* two hundred leagues
(after the rate of three Engliſh miles a league) and in
breadth from *Mount S. Bernard,* to *S. Iohn de Luze,* as *Cabinet*
much: *du Roy.*

The view of France.

Bodin.
lib. 6.
La Nouë.

much: for it is holden by some Authours to be of figure, quadrate: which notwithstanding *Bodin* denyeth, avowing it to be in forme of a Lozenge, with whom *La Nouë* consenteth, measuring it thus: From *Calais* (for now *Calais* is French) to *Narbome*, North and South, is two hundred leagues: from *Rochell* to *Lions*, West and East, is one hundred and twenty leagues: From *Mets* to *Bayonne* Northeast and Southwest, two hundred leagues; and from *Morley* in *Bretagney*, to *Antibe* in *Prouence*, Northwest and Southeast, as much. True it is, that many places within this compasse are holden, but not of the King, as *Anignon*, and what else the Pope hath: *Toul*, *Verdun*, and *Mets*, of the Empire: *Cambray*, of the house of *Austrich*, in like case of Protection, as *Constance* in *Swisserland*, *Virich* in the lowe Countries, and *Vienna* in *Austria*: and as *Lucca* and *Genoia* in *Italy*, protected by the King of *Spainne*. So doe *Lorraine* also and *Sauoy* hold of the Empire. As contrarily, there be places out of this circuit, which notwithstanding hold of this Crowne in right, and owe him fealty and homage; as the Spanyard for the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, which he hath euer since the time of *Franncis* the first, denied to render.

Pro-
uinces.

THE diuers Prouinces of the Countrey are very many: the chiefe are these; *Picardy*, *Normandy*, *Ile of France*, *Beauisse*, *Bretagne*, *Aniowe*, *Maine*, *Poitouwe*, *Lymosin*, *Xantonge*, *Champaigne*, *Berry*, *Sologne*, *Auvergne*, *Niuernois*, *Lyonnois*, *Charrolois*, *Bourbonois*, *Daulpheine*, *Prouence*, *Languedocke*, *Tourraine*, and *Burgundy*.

La Guide.

All which are particularly set downe in Mappes, as also in the Booke, called *The French Guide*, where he vnder-

2

The view of France.

undertaketh to resemble eche Countrie to some other thing, as *Bretaigne*, to a horse shooe; *Picardy*, to a Neats tounge; and such like: which are but idle and disproportioned comparisons, as one may well obserue, that seeth these Countries in the Card.

But the thing of best note in each of these, is their *Cōmodities*. singular Commodities and fruits, wherewith they are blessed for the sustenance of the Inhabiter: In somuch that as they say of *Lombardy*, that it is the Garden of Italy: so may we truly say of France, that it is the Garden of Europe. *Picardy*, *Normandy* and *Languedocke*, goodly Countries of Corne, as any in Christendome, all the Inland Countries, full of Wine, fruits & graine: in some, great store of wood; in others, of flaxe; in others, Mines of salt, in others, of Iron: In somuch as one sayth, *Toutes choses necessaires à la vie humaine y regorgent en telle abondance, que seulement du bled, du vin, du sel, et du pastel, qui se transporte es pais estrangers, il y entre en contr'eschange annuellement plus de douze millions de liures.* *La Noüe.* All things necessary for mans life overflow there in such abundance, that in counterchange only of the Corne, Wine, Salt & Woad, transported into forreine Countries, there is yeerely brought into France twelue hundred thousand pounds sterling. And another no lesse approued, and as well practised in the State of France, sayth, *Les sources du sel, du vin, et du bled, sont inepuisables.* *Eccl. li. 6.* The Springs of Salt, Wine and Corne, are not to bee drawne dry. In which place, he complayneth, that the Kings of France were wont in times past to helpe their neede with sales of Wood, which are now of late yeeres so spoyled, as France shall shortly be forced to haue their lard frō other cōuntries, as also wood to build

The view of France.

and burne: a complaynt which I haue often heard in England. Other Prouinces haue also their especiall Commodities, wherein they excell their neighbours: as in *Lymosin*, the best Beeces; about *Orleans*, the best Wines; in *Auuergne*, the best Swyne; in *Berry*, the best Muttons, where there is such store, as thereof they haue a Prouerbe, when they would taxe a fellow for his notable lying, that tells of a greater number then the truth, they say, *Il n'y a tant de Moutons en Berry*: As one would say, Fye, there be not so many sheepe in Berry. They partake with vs also in sea commodities: as vpon the coast of *Picardy*, where the shore is sandy, they haue store of flat fish: vpon the coast of *Normandy* & *Guyen*, where it is rocky, fish of the Rocke (as the French call them) and vpon the coast of *Bretaigne*, where it is muddy, store of round fish, as Lamprey, Conger, Haddock; so likewise in diuers seasons, diuers other sorts, as Mackerels in the end of the Spring, and *Maquerelles* (Bawds) at all times, Herrings in the beginning of Autumne, as we haue in England, &c.

*Bod. contra Mala-
test.*

*Bod. con-
tra Mal.*

Bodin will needs take vpon him, being no more pertinent to his matter, then it is heere, to shew the reason why in old time among the most delicate & toothsome Trencher-men of the ancient Romanes, they alwayes feasted with Fish: because (sayth hee) it is neyther so mezzeld as Porke; nor scabd as Mutton; nor ranke as Goat; nor dropfy as Lambe; nor impostumate as Beefe; nor subiect to the falling sicknesse, as Quayles and Turkey-Cocks; nor to inflammations, as Capons; nor to lice as Pigeons: and yet the friand French-man, as well as we, neuer eats it, but on *maigre dayes* (fasting dayes) and then also by compulsion of the Lawes. But by his
leau,

3.
The view of France.

leauē, I suppose, they in old time did it vpon a vaine-glorious prodigallitie, not for any licorouſnes; for *Sardanapalus* neuer made his great banquets of Fiſh, but *Iuſſim*. when he was fartheſt from Sea: and *Aeſope* the Tragicke, that ſpent 15000. crownes at a feaſt, beſtowed it all in birdes tongues, as of Linnets, Nightingales, and ſuch others as had beene taught to ſing, that the price might be the greater. Giue me for all this the good old Biſhop of *Toledo* his Capon, who vpon a faſting day would needs make the companie at table belecue, that by the force of certaine wordes of conſecration, he had tranſubſtantiate this fat Fowle into fiſh, and that there onely remained the outward forme, as *Poggio* the Florentine reports of him.

This Country muſt needs be wel ſtored with fiſh; for beſides the benefit of the ſea, the lakes and ponds belonging only to the Clergie, which at the moſt haue but one third of France, are reported to be 135. thouſand. *Cabinet du Roy.*

The riuers alſo of France are ſo many, as *Boterus* *Boterus Relations.* reporteth of the Queene Mother, ſhe ſhould ſay heere were more then in all Chriſtendome; but we hold her for no good Coſmographer; ſhee had her other qualities, which ſhall not be forgotten in their fit place. True it is, that the riuers here are many, and very faire, and ſo *Rivers.* fitly ſeruing one the other, & al the whole, as it ſeemeth, nature, in the framing of our bodies, did not ſhew more wonderfull prouidence, in diſpoſing veines and arteries throughout the bodie, for their apt conueyance of the blood and ſpirit, from the liuer and heart, to each part thereof, then ſhee hath ſhewed in the placing of theſe waters, for the transporting of all her commodities

The view of France.

modities to all her severall Prouinces. Of all those, these are the principall; the *Seine*, vpon which standeth the Citie of *Paris*, *Rouen*, and many other. It hath his head a litle about *Chatillon* in the northwest of *Lingonois*, and receyueth nine Riuers of name; whereof the *Yonne*, the *Marne*, & the *Oyse* are nauigable, that is, doe carrie boats with sayle.

The *Some*, whereupon standeth the Citie of *Amyens*, *Abbeuile*, and many other: It hath his head about *S. Quentin*, diuideth *Picardie* from *Artois*, and receyueth eight lesser Riuers. The *Loire* hath standing vpon it the Cities of *Orleans*, *Nantes*, and many other: his head is in *Anuergne*, it parteth the middle of France, his course is almost two hundred Leagues, it receyueth 72. Riuers, whereof the chiefe are *Allier*, *Cher*, *Mayne*, *Creuse*, *Vienne*, all nauigable. The *Garond*, vpon which standeth *Bordeaux*, *Thoulouse*, and other Cities: it hath his head in the *Pyrenay* mountaines, it diuideth *Languedocke* from *Gascogne*, it receyueth sixteene riuers, whereof *Iarne*, *Lot*, *Bayze*, *Dordonne*, and *Lisle* are chiefeft.

And lastly, the *Rhosne*, vpon which standeth the Citie of *Lions*, *Auignon*, and diuers others: it hath his head in the mountaines *Alpes*, deuideth *Sauoy* from *Lyonnois*, and *Dolpheine* from *Languedocke*, it receyueth thirteene riuers, whereof the *soane*, the *Doue*, *Ledra*, and *Durance* are the chiefeft.

All the other Riuers carrie their streames into the Ocean, *Some* at *Saint Vallery*, *Seine* at *Newhauen*, *Loyre* beneath *Nantes*, and *Garond* at *Blay*: onely the Riuer of *Rhosne* payeth his tribute to the *Mediterranean* at *Arles*.

The

4
The view of France.

The *Seine* is counted the richest, the *Rhose* the swif- *Boterus*
test, the *Garond* the greatest, the *Loyre* the sweetest, for *Relations*.
the difference which *Boterus* makes of them, where he
omits the *Garond*, and makes the *Soane* a principall Ri-
uer, is generally reiected.

When we rightly consider the happie fruitfulnessse
of this soyle, and the exceeding benefit of these riuers,
I know not what wee should say is wanting, vnlesse yee
will say, *Animus, qui his utatur, deest*, wit to vse them: for *Terentius*
indeede the French hath these eight and thirtie yeeres
abused them with their ciuill and intestine warres. Doe
but conceyt in your imagination the faire Townes of
Italy heere seated, and in them, the English Nation
planted: and in my opinion, ye haue the right Idea
of *Platoes* happy State: *O utinam! O si!*

But I must remember one inconuenience and dis-
commodity it hath.

I haue heard some poore Countrey-man say, He
loues not to haue his house too neere a Lawyer. It
should seeme they bee ill Neighbours; and it may be
that *Themistocles* roued at some such matter, when hee
caused the Sergeant to cry in publike place, that besides *Plutarch*,
all the good properties which his Farme had, that hee *in Them.*
set to sale, *Qu'il auoit bon voisin*: That he had a good
neighbour.

This is the mischief, that faire France hath a-
bout her so many bad neyghbours, as *Lorraine*,
Sauoy, and *Spayne*, of whose good affection to
this Countrey, wee may say with the Poet, *Vnum*
cognoris, omnes noris: Knowe one, and knowe them
all: Neyther of them with her better then other,

The view of France.

as hath well appeared in the late ciuill warres, wherein
eche thought to haue had his share, howsoeuer (now)
they loue no Grapes.

*Haues
and
Ports.
La Guide.*

The Ports and passages into France, where Custome
is payd to the King, were in times past more then
they be now: the names of them at this present, are
these: In *Picardy, Calais, Bologne, S. Vallery.* In *Norman-
dy, Diepe, Le Haure de Grace, Honnefleux, Caen, Cherbrouge.*
In *Bretaigne, S. Malo, S. Brien, Brest, Quimpercorentine,*
Vannes, Nants. In *Poitouwe, Luffon, les sables d'Olonne.* In
Rochellois, Rochelle. In *Xantogne, Zoubisse.* In *Guyenne,*
Bourdeaux, Blay, Bayonne. In *Languedocke, Narbonne, Agde,*
Beucaire, Mauguail. In *Prouence, Arles, Marseilles,*
Fransis. In *Lionnois, Lions.* In *Burgogne, Ausonne, Lan-
gres.* In *Champagne, Chaumont, Chalons, Trois.* In the
Territory *Metzin, Metz, Toul, Verdun.* In all, thirty
seuen: Of all these, *Lions* is reputed to be the most ad-
uantageous to the Kings Finances, as being the key for
all silks, clothes of gold and siluer, and other marchan-
dise whatsoeuer, which come or goe from *Italy, Swisser-
land,* and all those Southeast Countreyes, into France,
which are brought to this Towne by the two faire Ri-
uers of *Rhosne* and *Soan*: the one comming from *Sauoy*,
the other from *Burgundy*, and heere meeting: where,
by the way, me thinks, I may fitly compare these two
Waters, to two great Princes of these two great
Countries, comming to be married at this great City,
which within the walles is within ten Toyses as large
as Paris. In which allusion, I make the *Rhosne* (which in
the French tounge is of the masculine gender) the *Sa-
uoyard* Prince; and the *Soane*, which is likewise in this
language, the feminine, the Princessse of *Burgundy*;
which

5

1

The view of France.

which conceit is the better warranted, because *le Rhosne* is a very swift and furious Riuer, which well agreeth with the nature and condition of the man; and *la Sona*, a still and sweet water, which rightly symbolizeth with the quality of a woman.

I would our Poet, that made a marriage betweene *Spencer*, the *Medun* and *Thames* at *Rocheſter*, had the handling of this matter; for it becomes a Poeme better then a Relation.

For profit, next to *Lions*, are *Bourdeaux*, *Rochell*, *Marſeilles*, *Nantes* & *Newhanen*: But for capability of ſhipping, I haue heard that *Breſt* excelleth; and for ſtrength, *Calais*, eſpecially as it is now lately fortified by the Spaniard, which was not let long ſince to bee called, *La Commynes plus belle Capitaineſſe du monde, au moins de la Chreſtiente: cap. 30.*

The goodlyeſt gouernment in the world, at leaſt in Chriſtendome.

There are requiſite in all Ports, to make them perfit, theſe foure things: 1. *Magnarum & multarum Nauiu Lipſius. capabilitas.* 2. *Nauibus tutiſſima ſtatio.* 3. *Ad hoſtilem vim coercendam habilis.* 4. *Mercatorum frequentatio:* 1. Roome to receiue many and great Ships. 2. Safe riding. 3. Facility of repelling ſortaine force. 4. Concourse of Marchants. The moſt of theſe French Ports haue all foure properties, except onely the laſt, which in the time of theſe ciuill broyles, haue diſcontinued: and except that we will alſo graunt, that *Calais* ſayles in the firſt.

The Cities in France (if ye will count none Cities, *Cities.* but where is a Biſhops Sea, are onely one hundred & *Bodin, li. 5* foure. There be ſo many Archbiſhops and Biſhops in all, as ſhall in more fit place be ſhewed: But after the

The view of France.

French reckoning, calling euery *Ville*, a City, which is not eyther a Burgade, or a Village, we shall finde that their number is infinite, and indeed vncertaine, as is also the number of the townes in generall. Some say, there bee one million and seuen hundred thousand: but they are of all wise men reprooued. Others say, sixe hundred thousand; but this is also too great to be true. The *Cabinet* rateth them at one hundred thirty two thousand of Parith Churches, Hamlets and Villages of all sorts. *Bodin* sayth, there be twenty seuen thousand and foure hundred, counting only euery City for a Parith: which will very neere agree with that of the *Cabinet*; and therefore I embrace it as the truest.

Cabinet.

Bodin. li. 6

By the reckoning before set downe of two hundred leagues square (which France almost yeeldeth) we must compute, that here is in all forty thousand leagues in square, and in euery league, five thousand Arpens of ground, which in all amounteth to two hundred millions of Arpens: which summe being deuided by the number of the Parishes, sheweth, that onewith another, eche Village hath one thousand, five hundred and fiftene Arpens, which measure is bigger then our Acre.

Wee may, if wee will, abstract a third, because *Bodin* will not admit France to be square, but as a Lozenge: For in matter of such generality as this, men doe alwayes set downe suppositions, not certaynties.

Of all these Cities and great Townes, I will omit to speake in particular (though a Stranger must very precisely obserue whatsoeuer he sees in his tra-
uayle) affying in *La Nouë* his censure, for their man-
ner

ner

The view of France.

ner of Fortification. *Sion vent* (sayth hee) *regarder La Noüe.*
par toute la France, ie cuyde qu'on n'y trouuera, horsmis quel-
ques chasteaux, aucune ville qui soit à demy parfaite, selon les
regles des ingenieurs: If a man will looke throughout
 all France, I thinke that (some Castles excepted) hee
 shall not finde any Towne halfe perfectly fortified, ac-
 cording to the rules of Ingeners.

Onely I must adde, that since his time, which
 is now aboute twenty yeeres, many Townes also
 haue bettered their maner of fortifying: amongst
 which, none more (by report) then that of *Rosbell*:
 and lately, that of *Amiens*, of which wee might last
 yeere, while the Spanyard held it, say (as is sayd of *De-*
telea, in the Territory of *Athens*) which *Alcibiades*
 counselled the Lacedemonians, to take and fortify,
 namely, that it did *consumet et mettre a bas la puissance* *Plutarche*
de la France, autant et plus que nulle autre chose: Con- in *Alc.*
 sume and bring low the power of France, as much
 as any thing else whatsoeuer: And that it kept and
 scowred all the passages from *Paris* to *Rouen*, like that
 other from *Athens* to *Eleusina*.

But as the losse of this Towne wounded the
 whole body of France, so the regayning of it, was
 not onely the healing of the hurt receyued (wher-
 in it was better then the *Pelias Hasla*) but also the ray-
 sing of it to these happy tearmes, wherein it now
 stands.

This Towne would giue mee good occasion
 to speake of the last yeeres siege, the Cardinall
 comming, and the Cityes yeelding, with ma-
 ny other accidents very memorable and worthy the
 recounting; wherein I had rather spend an howres

The view of France.

time in talking, then any Paper in writing; for that, to pen it, asketh the iudgement of a Soldier, of which honour I am most vnworthy: Neyther will I also spend time in the discourfing of other Cities, which we haue feene heere in France, as of their fuation, building, wealth and fortification, faue onely of *Paris*, because the French fay, this is a world, no City.

After that, I will breefly relate of the Castles in France, and of some reasons why it is preiudiciall to the quiet of a State, to haue many of them, except they all belong to the Prince, who ought to haue of them in his frontier places, and Lymitrophes (as they call them) and vpon Cities which are strong to keepe the in awe, not else; and as that of *S. Katherine's*, which you sawe at *Rouen*, now rased; and then I will end the first branch of this Relation, namely, of the Topography of this Countrey.

Paris. The City of *Paris*, seated in a very fruitful and pleasant part of the *Ile of France*, vpon the Riuer of *Sein*, is by the same deuided into three parts: that on the North towards *S. Denis*, is called the *Burge*: that on the South toward the Fauxbourges of *S. Germaines*, is called the *Vniuersity*, and that in the little *Ile*, which the Riuer there makes, by deuiding it selfe, is called the *Villa*.

This part, no doubt, is the most ancient; for saith my Authour, *Lutec est vne ville des Parisiens, assise en vne Ile de Seine*: *Lutecia* is a City of the Parisians, seated in an *Ile* of the *Seine*. We may distinguish it thus: into *Transsequana*, *Cisequana*, and *Interamnus*: The part beyond the *Seine*: that on this side the *Seine*, and that in the *Ile* encompassed with the Riuer. It is reputed not onely the capitall City of France, but also the greatest

The view of France.

rest in all *Europe*. It is about the walls, some ten English miles : these are not very thicke, the want whereof is recompenced with the depth of the ditch, and goodnes of the Rampart, which is thicke and defensible, saue on the South side, which, no doubt, is the weakest part of the Towne, on which side it is reported, that the *L. Willoughby* offred the King in foure dayes to enter, at such time as he besieged it. Wherevnto the King condescended not by the counsell of the olde Marshall *Bi. M. Biron.* *ron*, who told him, It was no policy to take the Bird naked, when he may haue her feathers and all. On the other side, especially towards the East, it is very well fortified with Bulwarke and Ditch, sayre and moderne, *Les Rampars furent faictes et portes S. Antoine, S. Michel, Antiq. et S. Jacques et ailleurs, 1544. Par.* The Ramparts of the Gates *S. Anthony*, *S. Michel*, and *S. James*, and elsewhere, were made 1544.

This Bastile of *S. Anthony*, was built (some say) by the English; and indeed it is somewhat like those peeces which they haue built elsewhere in France, as namely, that at *Rouen*: howbeir, I read in *Vigner* his Cronicle, *Vigner.* that it was builded by a Preuost of *Paris*, in the time of *hust. bib.* *Edward* the third of England, at what time our Kings began their first clayme, and had as yet nothing to doe in this City.

Some other monuments I purpose to speake of, with their Founders, by the example of *Plutarch*, who in his *Plut. Peri.* discourse of *Atheni*, particularizeth in this maner: *Pantheon Hecatompedon*, built by *Ictinus* and *Callicraditas*, the Chappell of *Eleusine*, by *Corabus*: the Lanterne, by *Xenocles*: the Theater, or the Odeon, by *Pericles*: the Port *Pnyx*, by *Mnesicles*, and the *Palladium of Pallas*, by *Phidias*.

The view of France.

Haillan. li.
1. *Pbidias.* So in this Towne, the *Chasteles* was built by *Iulian* the Apostata: the *Vniuersity* was founded by *Charlemagne*, Anno, 800. who also erected those of *Bologna* and *Padoa*.

The Church of *Nostre Dame* (Our Lady) was founded Anno, 1257. where are these verses following engrauen, to shew the greatnesse of it:

Antiq.
Par. *Si tu veux sçauoir comme est ample*
de Nostre Dame le grand Temple:
Il a dans auure pour le seur
dixsept toiser de hauteur:

Sur la largeur de vingt et quatre, et soixante et cinq sans rebattre, A de long: aux tours haut montée: trent quatre sont bien comptées, Le tous fonde sur pillotis, anssi vray, que ie te le dis:

If you would know the greatnesse of the great Church of our Lady, the roote thereof is 17. fathom high, it is 24. fathom broad, 65. fathom long, the two Steeples are 34. fathom high aboue the Church, and al founded vpon piles,

The *Hofel de la ville* (The Towne-House) was finished by *Francis* 1. Anno. 1533. with this inscription ouer the Gate, S.P.E.P. that is, *Senatus, Populo, Equitibusque Parisiensibus pte de se meritis*, *Franciscus primus Francorum Rex potentissimus*, has ades a fundamentis extruendas mandauit, accurauit, condendis que publice consiliis et administrande Reip. dicauit, anno vi supra:

For his wel-deseruing Senate, people & Burghers of *Paris*, *Francis* the 1. most puissant King of France, commanded this house to be built from the foundation, and finished it, & dedicated it to the calling of the Common Couëcell, and gouerning the Citie, in the yere afore said.

This

The view of France.

This is, as ye would say, the Guild Hall of the towne. The *Hôtel Dieu* in *Paris*, was augmented and finished in 1535. by *Antoine de Prat*, Chancellor in this City, his pourtreict with *Francis 1.* is vpon the dore as ye enter. This is (as we call it at London) the Hospitall. The *Palais de Paris* was built by *Philip le Bel*, 1283. purposing it should haue bin his mansion house; but since, it hath bene disposed into diuers Courts, for the execution of Iustice, iust like *Westminster Hall*, which likewise at first was purposed for the Kings Palace.

Here you haue such a shew of Wares in fashion, but not in worth, as ye haue at the *Exchange*. Heere is a Chappell of the *S. Esprit*, built by *S. Lewes*, 1242. Here are all the seuen Chambers of the Court of Parliament (which was first instituted by *Charles Martel*, father to King *Pepin*, anno 720.) but of them all, the great Chamber of *Paris* is most magnificently beautified and adorned by *Lewes* the twelfth. At the entry, is a Lion couchant, with his tayle betweene his legges, to signify, that all persons, how high soeuer, are subiect to that Court.

*Hallan.
lib. 1.*

The Chamber also of Comptes, built by this *Lewes*, is a very fayre roome; at the entry whereof are fīue portreicts with their Mots. The first is *Temperance*, with a Diall and Spectacle: Her word, *Mibi spreta voluptas*: I despise pleasure. Secondly, *Prudence*, with a looking Glasse, and a Siue: her word, *Consilijs rerum speculator*: I pry into the Counsell of things. *Iustice*, with a Ballance and a sword: her Mot, *Sua cuiq; ministro*: I giue to euery man his owne. *Fortitude*, with a Tower in one arme, and a Serpent in the other:

The view of France.

her word, *Me dolor atque metus fugiunt*, Both payne and feare auoyde me. And lastly, *Lewes* the King, with a Scepter in one hand, and holding Iustice by the other, and this written for his word,

*Quatuor has Comites foueo, caelestia dona,
Innocua pacis prospera Sceptra gerens:*

My happie Scepter in calme peace doth flourish,
While I these heauen-bred sisters 4. do nourish.

To speake particularly of all other the buildings and Courts of this Palace, as the Chamber of the Treasurer, the Table of Marble, the Courtes of Aides, and such like, were to be too tedious.

The buildings of this Citie are of stone, very fayre, high, and vniforme, throughout the towne, onely vpon the Port *N. Dame*, Our Ladies Bridge, which is, as it were, their Cheape-side: their building is of brickbat, all alike notwithstanding; the fayrest Fabricke in the towne (and worthily) is the Kings Castle or Palace of the *Louure* at the west: It is in forme quadrangulare, the south and west quarters are new and Princelike, the other two very antique and prisonlike. They were puld downe by *Francis. 1.* and begun to be rebuilt, but finished by *Henry the second*, with this inscription, *Henricus 2. Rex Christianissimus, vetustate collapsum adificium reficere cepit.* The most Christian King *Henry the 2.* began to reaire this time-ruined edifice.

From this Palace, the King is building a Galery, which runnes along the riuer East and West, and his purpose is, it shall passe ouer the towne ditch with an Arch, and so cōtinue to the *Twilleries*, which is at least fixe hūdred paces, and so both these buildings shall bee vnited into one: which, if euer it be done, will bee the greatest and goodliest

The view of France.

goodliest Palace of *Europe*: This Gallery is very curiously wrought with Flowers de luce, curious knots, branches, and such like device, cut in stone; and in euery place this word of the Kings, *Duo protegit unus*, Which I suppose, implyeth, One God maintaynes the two Kingdomes of France and Nauarre.

The building of the *Tuilleries*, begun by the *Q. Mother* (which is also a stately work) is now in the finishing: for this *Queene Mother* began many things, but finished none (except mischiefes) witnesse this present house of the *Tuilleries*, and that other at *S. Maur* some two leagues from *Paris*, whither, ye remember, we went to kisse the young Prince of *Condies* hand, which then tolde vs was morgaged to her *creanciers* (creditors) for 25, thousand Crownes, and now stands vnperfited.

The next house in state, both for the beautie of the building, and device in the Gardens, is that of *Monsieur Gondi*, an Italian, whose father came into France with *Katherine de Medises*, and was here by her aduanced. There be other very many and very stately buildings, as that of *Mons. Sansuë*, *Mons. de Monpensier*, de *Neuers*, and infinite others, whereof especially towards the East end this towne is full, in so much as ye may say of the French Noblesse, as is elsewhere said of the *Agrigentines*, *They build, as if they should liue euer, and seeke, as if La Noüe.* they should dye to morrow. But among all these, there is none (sayth this Author) that exceed more then the Lawyers, *Les gens de Iustice (et sur tout les Tresoriers) ont augmente aux seigneurs l'ardeur de bastir*: The Lawyers, and especially the Officers of the Kings money, haue enflamed in the Nobilitie the desire of building.

I haue heard a tale of a President of Parliament,

D

whose

The view of France.

whose friends comming on a time to see him at his new house, began exceedingly to commend it, as indeed it deserued, as well for the rarenesse of the workmanship, as the goodnesse of the Stone, Timber, Marble, and such like. No (quoth he) ye mistake the stuffe whereof it is made: this house is onely built, *de restes des fols*: of fooles heads. I thinke many of our newe buildings in England, are made of the same stuffe.

La Noüe,

Ye must note, it is not yet one hundred yeeres since this stately kind of building (or I should rather say, beautiful; for still the most stately is the most ancient) came first in request. *La Noüe sayth, Il n'y a gueres plus de soixants ans que l'architecture a esté reestabli: en France et au parauant on se logoit asses grossierement*: It is not much more then threescore yeeres since Architecture was reestablished in France, and before that time, men were housed but homely. Hee there seemes to commend it, as a great grace to his Countrey: Marry, saith he, *Si on conte aussi combien telles magnificences ont enuoyé de gens au bîsac, on dira que la marchandise est bien chere*: If we reckon withall how many such magnificence hath sent to the

Rab'iss

we may say, tis very deare marchandize. I am for my part, of Frier John of *Antomaure* his mind, who seeing in a great Palace such stately Halls, such goodly Galleries, such fayre Chambers, such well contriued Offices: and on the other side, the Kitchen so leane, the Chimneyes so cold, and the Cellars so dry, *Vn beau Chasteu dit-il a faire de belles promenades, et me carez mes dens a ieun a la Napolitaine*: A faire Castle (saïd he) to walke faire turnes in, and picke my teeth fasting after the Neapolitane fashion.

The

The view of France.

The Vniuersities, wherein in times past were wont to bee (by report) aboue thirty thousand of all sorts, are now by reason of the warres, reduced to a fourth part, and many of these children, such as our petty schooles in the Countries are furnished withall. The streets both in the City, Vniuersity, and Suburbs, are very faire, straight, and long very many of them; the shops thick, but nothing so full of wares, nor so rich as they of London, in comparision whereof, these seeme rather Pedlers then otherwise: But for number, I suppose, there be three for two of those.

The Faulxbourges are round about the City, ruined and vterly desolate, except those of Saynt *Germanes*, which was very fayrely builded, and was very neere as great as the faire Towne of *Cambridge*.

The benefit of this Towne is very great, which it hath by the Riuer, as by which all the Commodities of the Countrey are conueyed: Wherevpon *Monsieur d'Argenson* reports of it, *C'est la ville, comme que iamais ie veisse enuironné de milleux pais et plantureux*. C. 15.

Of all the Townes that euer I sawe, it is enuironed with the best and fertilest Countrey:

And he there reports, that for twenty moneths that he was Prisoner, he saw such an infinite company of Boates passe and repasse, as but that he was an eyewitnesse, he would haue thought incredible, which he also after proues by the mayntenance of the three Armies of the three Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Guyenne*, and *Bretaigne*, which consisted of an hundred thousand men, against the Cittie of *Paris*, wherein they

The view of France.

Commin.
li. 15.

they had besieged Lewes the eleuenth, and yet neyther the Campe nor Towne had any want of victualls. *Faut bien dire qu'en ceste Isle de France, est bien assise cette ville de Paris, de pouoir fournir deux si puissans hosts: car iamais nous n'auons faute de viures, et dedans Paris à grand penie s'apperceussent ils qu'il y eust iamais bien enchery que le pain, seulement d'un denier:* It must needs be graunted, that this Towne of Paris is excellently seated in the Ile of France, to be able to furnish two so great Armies: for we neuer wanted victualls; and they within Paris hardly found anything the dearer, but onely bread, a denier vpon a loafe. The Sea floweth no neerer this City, then *Pont de Larche*, some 25. leagues off.

Annales
de France.

Some say, this Towne was builded in the times of *Amasias*, King of Iuda, by some reliques of the Trojan warre, and that it was called *Lutece* (a Luto) because the soyle in this place is very fatte, which is of such nature, as ye cannot wel get it out, it doth so staine: whereof they haue a By-word, *Il gaste comme la fange de Paris:* It stayneth like the durt of Paris. Other say, it was called *Paris* of (*Parresia*) a Greeke word, which signifieth (saith this Authour) *hardiesse ou ferocite*, valour or fiercenesse, alleadging this verse,

Idem.

Guil. Ar.
moritani

Et se Parrisios dixerunt nomine Franci,

Quod sonat audaces, &c. And the Franks called

themselues Parrisians, which signifieth valiant. And by this Etymologie would inferre, that the French is a warlike Nation. But he is much mistaken in the word; for it signifieth onely a boldnes or liberty of speach: which whether they better deserue, or to be accounted valiant, you shall see, when I come to speake of the Frenchmans humour and nature in generall, As for the

The view of France.

the nature of the people of this Towne, their Histories
taxe it of infinite mutinies and Seditions, matchable to
the two most rebellious Townes of Europe, *Liege* and
Gant; and yet this last is prayſed in one thing, *Qu'à la* *Hail, li. 1.*
personne de leur Prince ils ne touchent jamais: That they
neuer harne their Princes Person: Whereof the Bar-
ricades make *Paris* vnworthy. And *du Haillan* sayth of *Hail, li. 3.*
them, whē they stood fast to *Lewes* the eleuenth againſt
the three Dukes abouenamed: *Jamais les Parrisiens ne*
tindrent un bon parti, n'y ne firent rien qui vallut, que ceste
fosſ-la: The Parrisians neuer held good ſide, nor neuer
ſhewed any honeſty but then onely. But I can reade
no ſuch matter in *Commynes*; for I well remember, that
euen then diuers of the chiefe of the Towne had prac-
tized ſecretly with the enemy, and were vpon tearmes
of concludiſg, when by the Kings wiſdome they were
preuented.

The Armes of this City were giuen them, *Anno.*
1190. by *Philip le Bel*, who creating them a Preuoſt and
Eſcheuins (like Office as our Maior and Aldermen)
Leur donnoit les armoiries, de guelues a une nauire d'argent, *Antiq. par.*
le chef d'azure ſemē de fleurs de lys d'or: gaue them for
Armes, Gules, a Ship Argent, and a Cheefe ſeeded
with Flower de Lys Or.

Ye ſhall heare the French brag, that their City hath
bene beſieged a hundred times by the enemy, and yet
was neuer taken ſince *Cæſar*s time. The reaſon whercof
one of their beſt Writers giues, Becauſe (ſayth he) it is
very weake, and therefore alwayes compoundeth. *Bodin. lib. 5.*

I compare *Paris* with *London*, thus: This is the grea-
ter, the fairer built, and the better ſituate: ours is the
richer, the more populous, the more ancient: For I

The view of France.

hold antiquitie to be a great honour as well to great cities, as to great Families. Besides the Cities and Ports of France, well fortified, there be also infinite numbers of Castles and Cittadels (which the people alwaies call, *Nids de Tyrans*, the nests of Tyrants, and the Prince he calles them *Chastivillains*.) Of the Castels the number is therefore most great, and as vncertaine, by reason that euery Noble mans house of any age, is built in defensible maner, as you haue diuers times already obserued. An example of one for many hundreds, ye may take that of *Roch-fort* belonging to the *Seigneur de la Tremouille*, which in these Ciuill wars endured a siege & 5000. Canon shot, & yet was not takē. It is iudged by the wisest, that in great kingdomes, such as France, no places should be fortified but the frontiers: after the example of Nature, who armeth the heads and heeles of Beasts, but neuer the Bowels nor middle part. For indeede the strength of a Countrey consists not in walled townes, but in the vnited hearts of the people, as *Brutus* proueth in *Linie*, and *Dionysius Halicarnassens*: to which purpose the Poet also saith, Where there is concord among citizens, *Pulchrè munitam esse urbem arbitror*: I thinke that Towne excellently fortified. But where discord reigneth, *centuplex murus urbi non sufficit*: An hundredth fold wall is not sufficient. Whereof it commeth, that Histories report of the Tartarians, Aethiopians, and Arabians, that they haue no fortified places: and it is sayd of *Presle Iehan* the great king in Affricke, that he hath but one in all his Empire: and we in England, except frontier places, haue none but his Maiesties.

The reasons against them are these: It makes the inhabitants

Iunius

Brutus.

Tit. Linus

l. 1.

Dion. Hal-

licar. l. 5.

Plant.

The view of France.

inhabitants cowards: and therefore *Licurgus* forbad the *Plutarch.*
walling and fortifying of *Lacedemon*. Secondly, lest in *Licurg*
the enemy being entred, the Countrey should stay and
possesse himselfe, of some of these places, whereas other-
wise, he onely forrageth and harrith the Countrey,
an l away againe. Therefore *John Maria della Rovere*, *Guicci-*
Duke of Frbin, rased downe all his Castles (finding him- *ard. l. 4.*
selfe too weake to resist his enemy) and retired to *Ve-*
nice, assuring himself, that *Duke Valentionis* could not stay
there long, where there was no place to be kept: which
iudgement of his, the event well prou'd. For this cause
also, they of *Genoa*, after the battell of *Pavia*, where the *Bodin. l. 5.*
French King was taken prisoner, hauing got the French
Garison out of the *Lanterne*, ruined it to the very found-
ation. So did they of *Siracuse* cause the Cittadell of *Plut. Ti-*
Arradine, the only refuge of the tyrant *Dionisius*. Lastly, *moleon.*
they giue occasions to the possessors, to rebell and v-
surpe, whereof, both all histories, and among these our
owne (where, if I be not mistaken, in King *Stephens* time
were rased eleuen hundred Castles) and these fortie
yeeres troubles in France do testifie.

There be some reasons for the hauing of these
fortified places, which I doe not conceiue so
good as these, except onely I should graunt them
their Capitall Citie to bee fortified, and none
else.

For *Bodin* thinkes it great madnesse in a Prince, *Bodin. l. 5.*
to suffer his people to haue strong Townes, (e-
specially as here in France, where they will haue
no Garison, but of their owne Citizens: the effect
whereof was well seene in the losse of *Amiens*) except

The view of France.

the King haue therein a Cittadell to bridle them. Against which, many Cities in this Countrey pretend Priuiledges, as that of *Amiens*, and some haue bought the Cittadell of the King, to the intent to demolish it, as they of *Lions*; such eye-sores they bee heere in France. In such a Countrey as Italy, where there bee diuers Princes, fortified Townes are more needfull, where notwithstanding ye shall note, that no great *Signore* is euer made Captayne of the Cittadell, nor hath any league with the Gouvernour, whome they there call *The Podesta*, and therefore euery yere also these Offices are changed throughout the State of Venice, which at this day, is the most perfect Optimacy in the world; and the rather, because though the State be Aristocraticall, yet the execution of the Gouvernement is mixt, Offices being conferred, both vpon the one sort and other of the Citizens, which makes that perfitt harmony, whereof the diuine Philosopher so much speaketh.

*Pla derep.
lib. 4.*

You must vnderstand, that heere in France, all Inhabitants of Cities, are lyable to the common charges of the fortification of their City, reparations of bridges, fountaines, highwayes, and such like. And because the richer sort should not leuy the money, and then keepe it to themselues, or employ as the list, they must giue information to the Chaunceller, of the necessity of the Leuy, and procure Letters Patents for the same, by authority whereof they gather the money, and vse it, yeelding after to the Kings Procureur their account.

Hau, li. 3.

And for their Watch and Ward, it goes by course, as in the Citie of *Embsden*, and diuers other in those
Low

12
The view of France.

Low Countries. As for Castles, the *Seigneur*, or Cap-
taine may not force Vassall (*faire le gues*, To watch and ward) except in frontier places, vpon forfayting of their *Ordon, ch.*
estates.

After this generall Survey of the Countrey it selfe, Go-
we must obserue something of the Government, where-
in I will not trouble you, with fetching the ir first Pede-
gree from beyond the Moone, as many of their Histo-
ries labour, nor by disputing the matter, whether it bee *uer-*
true or no, that they came from *Troy*, into the Marishes *ment.*
of *Maotis*, whence, after some small abode, they were *Sirabo.*
chaied by the Romane Emperdur, into *Bauaria*, and af-
ter into Frankland, in Germany.

It shall suffice, that from hence, this people came in-
to France, wherein all writers agree: For after the decli-
nation of the Romane Empire, when the *Ostrogothes*
conquered Italy, the *Visigethes*, Spayne; and the *Van-*
dalles Affricke: then did the *Burgondiens*, and *Franconi-*
ens diuide this Countrey betweene them, conquering *Haill, li. 2*
it vpon the olden iquilines, the *Gauls*, who from *Cæsar*'s *de l'estat.*
time, till then, had not tasted the force of a forrayne
power.

The Gouvernement was vnder Dukes, till the yeere
420. when as *Pharamond* caused himselfe to be entitu-
led King. In this race it remained till 751. when *Pepin*
suppressed his M^r. *Chilpericks* and vsurped. His line la-
sted till 988. when *Hugh Capet* gaue the checke to the
succession of *Charlemagnes* line (who was *Pepins* sonne)
and inuested himselfe with the Diademe. From him it
hath lineally descended by heires males to the house of
Valois, and for want of issue male in them, is now come
to the house of *Burbon*. In this space of time, you must

E

obserue

The view of France

observe the three ages of France: Her child-hood, till *Pepin*: her manhood, till *Capet*: her olde age, till now. For in the first age, the Kings were like children, content to be taught by others in matters of Religion, (as then ye may note, that *Clouis* receiued the faith, and was baptized) as also in matter of policy, they were content that others should beare the whole sway, and rule them also, such were the *Mieurs de Palais*, whereof *Pepin* was one that vsurped.

In their manhood they did like men, conquer kingdoms, relieue distressed Christians, ouercome Saracenes & Infidels, defend the Church against all assayles, as ye may perceiue by the History of *Charles* the great, and his successors.

And lastly now, in her old age she grew wise, erected Courts for iustice, made lawes and ordinances, to gouerne her inhabitants, wherein no Countrey in Europe hath excelled her; for so sayth my Author, *Il n'y a contrée au monde où la iustice soit mieux establie, qu'en la nostre*. There is no Countrey in the world, where Iustice is better established, then ours: which is true (but with this addition of a later writer,) *si luy en auoit tant et trop*. *Mail. 3.* *et si luy estoient si tostement exercez*: If the Officers thereof were not too too many, & if their places were rightly executed.

This was the reason why many wise men of the world did imagine, that this Feuer of the league, which was entred at *Peronne*, some 10. yeres since, against France, would haue shakē the State, from a Monarchy, to an Aristocracy, considering, that in age nothing is more dangerous; and besides, it was now her climacterical yere of Gouernmēt (for this is the 63. King) though
this

19
The view of France.

this be but a curious and ill grounded conceit, as also that other of the pourtreits of the Kings, in the Palace at *Paris*, where, because all the voyde places be fulfilled, they would needes coniecture, forsooth, or rather conclude, that there should be no moe Kings. But this is but an idle dreame, and presupposition: for in the Cathedrall Church of *Sienna* in Italy, all the roomes for the *Popes*, are filled vp long ago, euer since the time of *Martin* the 5. and yet notwithstanding, that Sea of *Rome* still hath a *Pope*. But *Du Haillan* saith, that as vertue was the cause that this State rose frō the ground of her base beginning, to this height; so Fortune hath bene the cause that she is not falne frō that high pitch, to her first lownesse: For he can see no reason of her standing, considering these ciuill warres, the difference of Religion, the ambition of houses, the conspiracies and reuoltes of the people, the true causes of falling: Therefore hee concludes, *La bonne Fortune nous a plus seruī, que nostre vertu*: Good fortune hath helped vs, more then our owne vertue. But without so much talking of the good *Genius* and *bon-heur*, good hap of France, hee should haue ascribed the first cause to God, and the next to her Maie^{tie}: but this French is euer a thanklesse people.

I must not force this Relation with many notes, of things here happening in former ages; it is both impertinent, and tedious, onely I would wish you note, that in 482. the Christian Faith was here receiued, and in the yeere 800. the Romane Empire hither translated.

Concerning the Countrey of France, the State is a Monarchy, the gouernement is mixt: for the authority

The view of France.

of *Maieurs, Eschevins, Consuls, Jurours, &c.* is Democratically: the Paires, the Counsels, the Parliaments, the Chambers of Counts, the Generalities, &c. are Aristocraticall. The calling of assemblies, giuing of Offices, sending Embassages, concluding of Treaties, pardoning of offences, ennobling of Families, legitimization of bastards, coyning of moneys, and diuers other, to the number of 24. are meerly Regall, called of the French, *Droits Royaux.*

Haillan.
lib. 3.

And sure it is, that no Prince in *Europe* is a more perfect Monarch then he: for besides all these priuiledges named, as we say of the Parliament of *Paris*, that it hath the prerogatiue to bee appealed vnto, from all other Courts, which they call the (*Dernier ressort*, the last appeale) so is it likewise true, that the King himselfe hath the meere and absolute authoritie ouer this. For though no Edict or Proclamation, no Warre or Peace which he makes, bee good, without the consent and Arrest as (they call it) of this Court: Yet true it is, that when he, sending to them for their confirmation and ratifying thereof, if at first they refuse, & send *Deleguez*, Deputies, to his Maiestie to informe him of their reasons, and humble sute to reuoke the same, he returnes them vpon paine of his displeasure and deprivation of their Offices, to confirme it. *Sic volo sic inbeo*, Such is my pleasure, and absolute commandement.

Lawes. As touching the *Lawes of France*, we must know, that most of the are grounded on the Ciuil Law of the Emperor: but so, as this State euer protesteth against the, so far as they be good and equall: inso much as in former times it was ordeined, that he which alledged any Law of *Institian*, should lose his head. Of the *Lawes* here in force,

Haillan.
lib. 4.

The view of France.

force, some are fundamentall, as they call them, and immortal, such as, nor King, nor assembly can abrogate: others are temporall, *Quemadmodum ex his legibus, quae non in tempus sed perpetua utilitatis causa in aeternum lata sunt, nullam abrogari fateor, nisi quam aut usus coarguit, aut status aliquis reip. inutilem facit: Sic quas tempora aliqua considerant leges, mortales (ut ita dicam) & ipsis temporibus mutabiles esse video: I confesse, none of those Lawes which are not Temporary, but established as eternall for the vniuersall good, are euer abrogated (such onely excepted as either vse findes hurtfull, or some state of the Commonwealth makes vnprofitable) so I see, that those Lawes that are applied to particular times & occasions, are mortall (as I may call them) and change times with change. And therefore one saith, *Quae in pace lata sunt, L. Valerius plerumq; bellum abrogat, quae in bello, pax: ut in nauis administratione, alia in secunda, alia in aduersa tempestate vsi sunt: Warre commonly abolisheth Lawes made in peace: and peace Lawes made in Warre: Euen as Mariners in guiding a Ship vse one course in faire weather, another in foule.**

Plato lib. 4
de leg.

L. Valerius

Of the first sort I will onely remember you of two examples: the Law Salique, and that of Appennages. As for the first, they would needs make the world beleene that it is of great antiquitie, wherewith they very wrongfully tromped the heires of *Edward* the third, of their enioying this Crowne of *France*, which to them is rightly descended by his Mother, and whose claime is still good, were the English sword well whetted to cut the Labels of this Law. Of which *Haillan* himselfe confesseth, that before the time of *Philip le Long*, 1321. *Haillan. Jamais auparavant on n'en auoit ony parler, la faisant (ence lib 3.*

The view of France.

temps la) approuner par tous les Seigneurs du royaume, les uns par promesser, les autres par force et par menaces: The Law Salique was neuer heard tell of before this Kings time, who caused it to bee ratified by all the Nobles of his Kingdome, some by faire promises, and others by force and threates. Hereupon they haue their prouerbe, Le royaume de France ne peut tomber de Lance en quenouille. The Kingdome of France cannot fall from the Lance to the Distaffe.

Some say, it is called Salique, of the *Saliens*, a people anciently inhabiting about the Ryuer of *Rhein*; but the likelyest is, that it comes of the two words, wherwith it begins (*Si aliqua*) and which are often repeated therein, as in many of our processees vpon some word therein vsed they take their names, as a *Scire facias*, a *Nisi prius*, a *Latitas*.

Touching that of Appennages, which is also a Law of great consequent for the Crowne (for by this the Domayne cannot bee aliened, and by the other, the Crowne cannot fall into the hands of strangers.) You must note, that this Law imports, that the yonger sonnes of the King cannot haue partage with the Elder, which till the time of *Charelemagne* (when this was made) they might, they must onely haue *Appennage sans propriete*. By which Charter of Appennage is given all profits arising of the said *Appannes*, as Domayne, the hundredth, rents, rights of *Seigneurie*, *parties casuelles*, *lots*, *sales*, *hommages*, *right of vassallage*, Forrests, ponds, ryuers, iurisdiccions, patronages of Churches, prouisions, and nomination of Chappels, goods of Main-mort, fifts of Lands sold, and all other profites and commodities whatsoeuer, to returne to the Crowne, for want of
theire

Ch. m. ord.

Hall. l. 3

The view of France.

heire male: But the leuying of taxes and aydes, the minting of money, and all other things of regality reserved. Some are so curious to deriue this word from the Greekes, of *Apan, totum*, and *Agnon, sanctum*: Because, forsooth, the French returning from the holy Land by Greece, saw there the like course vsed, which they brought home with them. Others say, it comes of *Pain*, bread, because it was for their sustenance: much like the Lawe of the olde Romanes, for the maintenance of their daughters, to whome they allowed a yeerely pension out of their lands. But others say, it is deriued from the Almaigne word (*Abannage*) which signifies a portion excluded from the rest, that, because they haue this particular allowance, they can make no claime to any other of the Princes states. This Appennage hath often beene so great, as it hath bred many inconueniences; as that of the Duchie of *Burgondie*, by *Charles* the fift, to his brother *Philip*, which did often after, much preiudice the Crowne of *France*. And that of the Duchie of *Normandie*, by *Lewes* the eleuenth, to his brother, which was after changed for *Guyonne*, and that againe for *Champagne*, and againe at last for *Berry*, whereabout were great troubles, for many yeeres in *France*, as by the Historie appeares. Oftentimes also the yonger brothers are content to take yeerely pensions, and quite their said Duchies or Counties holden in Appennage.

Concerning the other sort of Lawes, in this Realme they are infinite, which argueth (*a consequente*) that they be ill kept: for *gens humana ruit per vetustum nefas*: and (*ab Antecedente*) that the people of this Countrey haue beene ill enclined: for *euill maners cause good lawes*.

The view of France.

These French lawes are too full of preambles, processes, interims, and prouisoos, as by all their ordinances & edicts appeareth, *Nihil mihi frigidius videtur, quam lex cum prologo: iubeat lex, non suadeat.* There is nothing (me thinks) colder, then a Law with a Prologue. Let a Lawe commaund, and not perswade. Of all these Lawes I will onely name you this one, *Que la minorité du Roy soit assistée d'un Conseil esleu par les Estats de France, auquel les Princes du sang doiuent tenir le premier lien, et les estrangers esloüez:* That the minoritie of the King shal be assisted with a Councel, chosen by the States of France, wherein the Princes of the blood ought to holde the first place, and strangers to be excluded: which was enacted at *Toures*, by *Charles 8.* anno. 1484. I tell you of this, as of the true source and spring of all these late ciuil warres, because the Cadets of Lorraine by insinuation with the young Kings, *Frances* the second, and *Charles* the ninth, vnder the fauour of the *Q. Mother*, tooke vpon them to manage all publike matters at their owne pleasure, and thrust out the first Princes of the blood of the house of *Burbon*. Whereupon *Nauarre* and *Condé*, the Princes of this family, assisted by many of the Fréch Noblesse, embarqued themselves in the action of reforming such an abuse, and displacing the *Guyfard* out of this authoritie, tooke it vpon themselves, to whome it rightly belonged.

Of these ciuill broyles, I meane by way of digression somewhat to speake, to giue you better taste thereof, as also to see in what miserable tearmes, this present King found the State, of whome, by order of this relation, I am next to remember: *La France a souffert sept guerres, et a veu six edicts de pacification, en leurs guerres ciuiles:* France,

in

A digres-
sion to the
Ciuill
Warres.
'Der.
troub.

The view of France.

in these ciuill broyles, hath suffred seuen warres, and seene sixe Edicts of Pacification. The first was in sixty three, at *Paris*: the second, in sixty seuen, at *Longemeau*: the third in seuentie, at *Paris*: the fourth in seuentie fixe, at *Jenuile* (when first began the League at *Peronne*:) the fift, at *Poitiers* in seuentie seuen: the sixt in eighty one. Not one of these Proclamations which was not brokē, & new flames of warre kindled; the imputation whereof, the French Writers lay most vpon the *Q. Mother*; by *Hail. I.* whom she is compared to *Fredegunde* & *Brunhilt*, two damnable Queenes of France, and the Firebrands of their time.

She came from the Family of the *Medices* in *Florence*, in which City ye may note, that in three seuerall yeres (but not much distant) were borne three seuerall Monsters: *Alexander Medices*, that spoyled *Florence* of her liberty, the fairest City in Italy: This woman, that ruined France, the fairest Kingdome of Europe: And *Machiauell*, that poysoned Europe, the fayrest part of the world.

She bare too great loue to her old friends of *Lorraine*, and too little to her young sonnes of *Valois*: her hate was too hote to the reformed Religiō, and her care too cold to reforme the State: She had too much wit for a woman, and too little honesty for a Queene: for where one is without the other, a little is too much.

Next her, are charged, the *Cadets* of *Lorraine*, in three ages, the Grandfather, the father & child, and al of their houses; for he that will rightly compare the times, shall find, that the drift of the Count *S. Paul* in *Leses* the 11. *Commines* time, was al one with this of the *Guises* in these late troubles; namely, for that the warres only maintayned them

The view of France.

in their greatnesse, and forced the King to stand in need of them, whereas the peace might be much prejudiciall to them, and bring them to their accounts, for many matters ill carried in their charges. Hereupon the Count set on his King, to embarke himselfe in a warre, against so great an enemy, as the Duke of *Burgogne*: and these euen forced their Master, to war vpon his owne Subiects, against so good a cause as true Religion. And as he desired nothing lesse, then that the Duke should condescend to his Maiestie, and so make a peace: so did these only wish, that they of the Religion might still stand stiffe in their profession. Likely also it is, that at the first, they did not so much as drea ne of obtayning the Crowne, as hauing foure Princes, of the house of *Valois*, al yong, besides the house of *Barbon*, standing in their way: But when these, one after another, died, and the times grew so fauourable, through their popular carriage (the onely signe of an ambitious mind) as that all the eyes of France were bent vpon them, then they raysed their thoughts, as high, as the highest place, and the rather, because the Religion of the next Prince of the bloud (who should bee seruued before them) was so contrary to the general liking of the French State. Their only cause, they said, was Religion: but true it is, that *Haillan* saith, that Religion is only the cloke and pretext, *selon les esprits des pair, ou selon les mences et pratiques des grands, qui donnent cette opinion aux peuples*: According to the humors of the country, or the driftes and practises of the *Grandes*, who possesse the people with that opinion.

Haill. I.

And in another place, *Diuisions sont comme fatales à la France, et entre les causes qui l'ont trouble toutes les fois qu'il a esté la diuision de grand, a esté la premiere et la princi-*

The view of France.

principale et tousiours couuerte du nom du bien publique, et de la Religion: Divisions haue beene (as it were) fatal to France, and of all the causes of her trouble at any time, the diuision among the *Grandes* hath euer beene the first and principall, and alwayes cloaked with the name of the publike good and Religion.

The onely patterne and Mirrour, whome the last Duke of *Guise* folowed in these his dangerous designs for the obtaining of the Crowne, was *Pepin*, who to de- *Annal,*
pose his Master, and to preferre himselfe, found no way *France*
more compendious, then to professe himselfe the Protector of the Church, and Rooter out of heresies. For which good seruice, the *Romish Church* inuested him with the Crowne of *France*, and hee gaue them many Territories in *Italy*; both, large carriers of that which was not their owne. But the usurpation was most vniust, as also the attempt it selfe, how soeuer they shadow it with the colour of Religion. For *Nulla inusta causa vi-* *Plut. Cori.*
deri potest, contra Remp. arma capiendi: No cause of taking armes against the State can seeme truely iust.

It is a pitifull spectacle, to see a happie State brought to ruine by the diuision of her great ones: but when it is wrought by such of the Nobilitie as are newly enfranchised, and ennobled with all preferments, who were but lately strangers, it is much more lamentable and also insupportable. The three great States of *England*, *Spaine*, *Holland* and *France*, can instance herein, and giue you examples *Turque*
of *Piers Ganesloue*, *Aluaro de Luna*, and this house of *Lorraine*. These are they, of whom all the late writers com- *Plut. de*
plaine. *Les François estoient loiz* (speaking of former *Spag.*
times) *vrais François, n'auoyent point succé le lait de Lorraine*, qui donne les humeurs de toutes les sortes de *Hail. 1.*
Trahisons:

The view of France.

The French were then true French, they had not yet sucked the milke of *Lorrayne*, which breeds humors fit for all sorts of treasons.

And as it is sayd of *Lalain* a gallant Gentleman in *Commines*. *Commines* his time, *Estoit d'une race, dont peu s'en est trouue, qui n'ayent esté vaillans, & quasi tous morts en seruant leurs Seigneurs en la guerre*: He was of a race, whereof few can be found that haue not bene valiant, and almost all of them slaine in the warres in their Princes seruice.

So may we say of these, that it hath bin a valiant race, and most of them haue dyed in the warres, but with this difference, that it hath still beene against the good of their Countrey, howsoever they couered their treasons with the vaile of *bien publique*: publique good: as *Idem. cap. 20.* one saith of the Duke of Guyenne and Bretagne, *Mais en fin le bien publique estoit conuertis en bien particulier*: But in the end, the publique good was turned to priuate profit.

The chiefest supporter of these Guisards, and that still gaue oyle to the fire of this rebellion, was the King of Spaine, who, (the comparison of the State of France with the game of *Primero* saith) that he stood by and looked on, following that *Machiauellian* maxime, or lesson, which he had learned of the other *Philippe* of Macedon, to suffer them to ruine one another, as did the Cities of Greece, and then himselfe to take the aduantage, and winne all; for it is no question if Guise had woane the game, but this would haue had the rest. He had this aduantage also, while they were together by the eares, to be in quiet himselfe: for so saith the principle in the Mathematickes, *Ce qui fait mouuoir alirny, est necessairement toujours en repos*: That which giues

69
The view of France.

giues motion to other things, must needs it selfe be in rest.

The third cause I impute (especially of the later troubles) to the timorous nature and pusillanimity of Henry the 3. *Ce qui donne volunté et moyen aux hommes Haill. 1. de grands Esprits de conspirer contre leurs princes, et d'as- tenter à l'usurpation de la couronne, est l'imbecillité et la neau- tise d'iceux Princes :* That which giues both will and meanes to men of great Spirits, to conspire against their Princes, & attempt the vsurping of their Crowns, is the weakenesse and worthleslenesse of the Princes themselves. For in his time, the Crowne of France *Commines* was like the daughter and heire of Burgogne: and the poore King, like the crafty Duke, made euery wooer and suter that she had, beleue that he should speede: the King, for feare lest by these corriuals hee should be brought lower; the Duke, in hope by intertaining them all, to haue their aydes to raise himselfe higher. Marry, neither of them would gladly, while they liued, that this faire daughter should be married.

It is a dangerous thing in a State, when the King *Haill. 3.* dare not punish the ambitious desseignes of his Subiect: *Voila le mal-heur d'un siecle miserable & iniuste, de cognoistre l'iniustice, & ne l'oser dire; n'y en faire la puni- tion: voila comment les Princes souuent cognoissent le mal & iugent au contraire, donnent l'absolution, estant à cela con- trainctz par le temps: aux quels le plus souuent par leur iniustice ils donnent cette licence, & apres en reçoient les pre- miers, le mal:* Behold the mischiefe of a miserable and vniust time; to discerne the offence, and not to dare take notice thereof, nor punish it. Behold how Princes doe often knowe the mischiefe, yet giuing sentence

The view of France.

quite otherwise, (being enforced by the necessity of the time) absolue them, whom they themselves first emboldened by their owne vniust proceedings, and are after, the first to smart for it.

This emboldened the *Guise* to driue his King our of *Paris*, whence (they say) to saue his life, he fled in his doublet and hose, and one boote off for haste: so that *Poci, Fran.* now was verified the prophesie of *Fran. I.*

Le Roy François ne fallit point,

Quand il predict que ceux de Guise

Mettroyent ses Enfants en purpoint,

Et son pauvre peuple en che mise:

King *Francis* prophesie a right,

That *Guizes* race would strip his race

Into their hose and doublet light,

And's people to their shirts vncafe.

In this attempt he so farre engaged himselfe, and so irreconcileably incurred the kings hate, as he must either be *Roy ou ruyné, Cesar aut nullus, Corona aut Cadauer.* Wherein he was much mistaken, to thinke againe to winne his good opinion, and by this meanes to expect a better houre. A man must neuer trust a reconciled enemy, especially his King, against whom when yee drawe the sword, ye must throw the scabberd into the riuier. He felt the smart of this, not long after at *Bloies*, *Du Fay.* where, in the assembly, like *Cesar* in the Senate, he was dispatched. In *Solons* time there were first the *Cilोनians* & the *Banditti*, and after one of these was extinct, there arose a diuision of three heads: they of the plaines would haue an Optimacy; they of the mountaines, a Democracy, and they of the seacoast, a mixt State. So in the Duke of *Guises* time, there was a diuision of Catholikes and Protestants: but after his death, the monster

20

The view of France.

monster grew to haue foure heads. The *Royaux*: the *Huguenots*: the *Ligueurs*: the *Confreres du petit Cordon*: these last were a fraternity, who had cōspired to bring in the Spaniard, their chiefe head were the *Seize of Paris*, (A Councell of 16, the most seditious Burgers of the Towne) who strangled M. *Brisson* a President of the Parliament, the rarest man of his time, and two other Lawyers, the one an Aduocate, the other a Procuror: of these the Duke de *Mayenne* hanged foure for their labour. Ech of these had diuerse driftes: The *Royaux* were for the King, and then for the extirpation of the Religion. The *Huguenots* were likewise for the King, and then for the libertie of their conscience. The *Leaguers*, for the ruine of the King, and house of *Burbon*, and then for the reducing of the land to an Aristocracy, which they meant to share among themselves: The *Confrerie* were against the King, for his title; against the Protestants, for their Religion; against the *Leaguers*, for their partage: and like *Traitours* falsly hearted, or Frenchmen truly Spaniolized, complotted only how to bring in their Patron & Benefactor the King of Spaine. See here the many-headed Hydra that rauaged alouer France. See here that France, where neither her King could saue his life frō the impositoned knife of a bloody harted Frier, nor the people their goods, frō the pillage of a bloody hāded Soldier. See here the times, when the 3. fayre daughters of *Themis*, *Ennomis*, *Epitikia*, and *Eirene*; Law, Equity, and Peace, are banished their native Country. See here a Country in an extacie, distracted in her selfe, and transported out of her selfe, ready to fall into a falling sicknesse, like the soule of a distempred man, where neyther *News*, the King, is obeyed;

Uadin. l. 6.

The view of France.

nor *Logos*, the Law, obserued; nor *Epithumia*, the people, gouerned, by reason that *Thumos*, which possesseth the heart (& therefore I interpret the *Genſilarmes* of France) through an ambitious thought to rule, or a deuiliſh deſire to reuenge, hath robd the one of his authority, the other of her force, and giuen the third the reynes of Liberty to doe what they liſt. *Mon Dieu genſilarmes* diſcourſe: O gens auenue: Nation ſans conſeil et ſans prudence! O people voyde of iudgement: O blinded people: O Nation without Counſell, and without wiſedome! See here a people, among whom it was a ſlander to doe well, and glorie to excell others in cruelty: therefore ſaith a Poet of theirs,

*Hiſp. cuius
dam Ora-
tis paran.*

*Si les manuais François ſont bien recompencez,
Si les plus gens de bien ſont le moins aduancez:
Soyons un peu meſchant, on guerdonne l'offence,
Qui n'a point faiſt de mal, n'a point de recompence.*

If the worſt Frenchmen now are beſt of all rewarded,
If the moſt honeſt men are now the leaſt regarded.
Let's turne Traytors awhile, this time rewards offices:
Who hath no miſchief wrought, can get no recōpēces.

See here a Tragedy, where were no lookers on, but all Actors, where, for the moſt part, the poorer ſort were plagued; *Delirant Reges, plectuntur Achini*:

Horat.

For dotages of Kings

The people alwayes wrings.

As for the great ones, they had a courſe many of the
to ſaue their owne ſtokes, and get alſo by the bargain.
Sayth another,

*Pour eſtre bien venuz et faire nos affaires,
en ce temps ſaſcheux plein d'horribles miſeres;*

Agnōſte

The view of France.

Agnosle mon amy, sçais tu que nous serons?

Surprenons quelque place, et puis nous traiterons:

If we will thrive, and rise, and be much made of too,
In this most wretched Age, and this confused State,
(*Agnostus* my deer friend) know'st thou what we must
Let vs surprize some Towne, & then capitulate. (do?)

As yee haue heard of *Monfr. de la Chastre*, an Arch-Leaguer, who would not make his peace, nor render his Townes to the King, except hee might haue the Government of *Orleans*, and fiftene thousand crownes, which hee presently enioyeth. Like capitulations were made with other of that faction: *Phabidas*, Generall of *Plut. Polo.* the *Spartane* forces, surprised vpon the *Thebanes* the Castle of *Cadmus*, without Commilision from the State: which Castle the *Lacedemonians* would not render, but fortified the place, and kept there a strong Garrison: and yet they discharged the Generall of his Office for this onely fact, and fined him at ten thousand crownes: a strange course, to punish good seruice: but this of *France* more strâge, to reward ill seruice. It is, I confesse, good policie to condemne the Traytor, and yet loue the Treason: but to condemne the Treason, and reward the Traytor, I neuer but here heard of. But such was the necessitie of the times: *Sic fuit in fatis*, So did the Fates ordeine. But these gayners were those that betted by; for the chiefe Gamesters had their heeles blowne vp: the Duke of *Guise* stabbed at *Blois*; the Cardinall strangled in the Castle: the Duke of *Parma*, poysoned at *Arras*: the Duke *Iuyse*, slayne at *Contras*: the Duke de *Mayenne* ruyned at *Iuery*: the Duke de *Mercaure*, come in this March, who

G

lately

The view of France.

lately marched afore his troupes in Bretaine, a capital, with an erected countenance, now walketh vp and downe Paris, like *Dionysius* in *Corinth*, *Capo chino*, harging the head. This was iust such an *Hexarchie*, as *Charles Duke of Burgoyne* wished in France, who, had hee liued till now, had seene what hee wished. When *Monf. Dursé* charged him, that he loued not France, but sought by all meanes possible to disturbe the State thereof: Tush, sir, saith he, you are deceiued, *I' ayme* *Comsaints. mieux le bien du royaume que vous ne pensez, car pour un roy qu'il y a ie y en voudroy six*: I wish better to the Kingdom then you imagine, for one King that there is nowe, I would there were halfe a dozen. All these, forsooth, agreed, that the Common-wealth was sicke and out of temper, & ech one pretended with his Phisicke to cure her. The D. of *Guse*, to ease the paine which was at the hart, ment (as he doth, that giues the best remedy for the tooth-ake, to pull them all out) to strike off the head: To which purpose, at the Barucadoes of *Paris*, hee had the King fast in the Castle of the *Louvre*, but yet most vawisely, hauing the bird in the cage, let him flye away.

The *Cardinall*, that should by his calling haue ministred the most gentle and lenitiue kind of Phisicke, and if it had beene possible, haue cured France with good counsell, & prescribing a good diet, ministred nothing, but corrasiuues, and bitter pilles of disdaine among the Nobles.

The Duke of *Parma*, like a Doctor of good practise, brings with him a whole shop ful of Phisicke, inough to purge all France, hee applicth his receipt of the Low-Country Souldiers, to ease her other malady: but the weake stomacke of this Countrey could not brooke so strong

The view of France.

strong an *ingrediens*, and therefore shee vomited them out againe, before they had done the deed. The Duke *Joyeuse* like a desperate young Doctor, that would get credit in his trade, vpon his first patient, by putting all to the hazard, without vsing any preparatiues, or obseruation of criticke dayes, giues the potion, before *Monsieur Matignon* could come at him, who came with other good phisicke to asist him in this practise: but at that time, they say, that *Mars*, a maleuolent Planet, was retrograde in *Aries*, or entring into *Taurus*; and so it should seeme: for one of the King of *Nauarres* troupes, called *Monfr. Taurin* (as they say) gaue him a Pistolade in the head. *Joyeuse* was not so precipitate, to breake the Imposume before it was ripe, but the Duke de *Mayenne* was as much a dreamer to forslow the occasion: for whē his brother *Gnise* was stabbed, and all the great Cities reuolted to him (loe, then was she sicke at the hart) he should then haue plyed, to haue applyed his medicines: but then had he his Phisicke to seeke: And after, when the party was pretily recovered, & began to refuse Phisick, (hauing a little relished the wholesome diet of good counsell) then comes he in such haste, that hee brake his bottels by the way, and so was a loser by the bargayne.

As for *Monsieur de Mercure*, hee playd the good Kitchen Doctor, of whome *Rablais* speaketh, who gaue *Rabl. l. 2.* his patient the necke and bones to tyre vpon, and kept the wings himselfe: for he left them all France, tyred and tewed, as bare as a birdes bone, and kept Bretaine, one of the fattest wings of the Countrey, to himselfe, purposing to haue entituled himselfe Duke thereof. But these were all pretended Phisicians: the poore King *Henry* the third ment wel indeed,

The view of France.

but wanted skill, who found by experience, after hee had slaine the *Guise*, and left therest of his house (that were then in action) how dangerous a thing it is, in matter of execution to doe it to the halfe, and that in ministring phisicke, a violent potion is not so dangerous, as one that is too weake, which onely stirreth the humors, and is not able to expell them. Among so many Phisicians, we must needes haue one woman to looke to the patient: this was the *Queene Mother*, of whom and her Sonne *Charles 9.* that consented to the Massacre of *Paris*, we may say with the Poet:

Vergil.
Eclog.

Cruelis mater magis an puer improbus ille?

Improbus ille puer, crudelis tu quoque mater:

Which hath poore *France* more ruinde and vndone,
The cruell Mother, or her wicked Sonne?

A wicked Sonne was he,

A cruell Mother she.

This *Queene*, who, with the two other *Queenes*, with whom she is before compared, may be called the *Allecto*, *Tesiphone*, and *Megara*, the three *Furies* of *France*, instead of being a Nurse, and cherisher of her Infants and family, which shee should haue bene by all law of reason, became a Stepdame, as shee was by nature, being an Italian: Who for more (as it is thought) then honest loue to the *Guiscard* Doctors, desired still to haue her people kept lowe and sickely, that they might be aduanced by their practise. These were they that left *France* in such pitifull taking, vnder a false pretext of reformation of the States; as we might well say of it, as is said of the abandoned French Con-

Commines stable in *Lewes* 11. his time, *Il ne sçauoit à quel Saint se vouer, se tenoit comme pour perdu*: He knew not to what Saint

The view of France.

Saint to vow himselfe, but held himselfe for a lost man: or as their prouerbe is here, *Il ne sçauoit de quel bois faire ses fleches*: He knewe not of what wood to make his arrowes.

But leauing *France* for a while, in this grieuous sicknesse (till the *Hercules* that now reignes, conquered this monstrous *Hidra*, and like a skilfull *Esculapius*, recouered her of this pestilent feuer) ye may obserue this one *Epi-phonema* heere necessarily imployed, namely, That *Dis-nisio in an Estate, is the most compendious way to her downe-fall*: *Discordia res magna dilabuntur*: By discord great matters melt away to nothing: as hath well appeared by this great State of *France*.

Here is also a good lesson for other to beware by:

Tum tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet:

Horat.

The burning of your neighbours Towers

Concernes you neere, next turne is yours.

And as *Rablaies* saith, *En sol enseigne bien un sage*: *Rabl.*

A foole may teach a wise man wit. And if you would haue yet more instances of the miserable effects of Fa-
ctions, read *Guscardine*, and you shall bee plentifully furnished: as with the *Colonna*, and *Vrsini* in Rome; the

*Cniceiard.
lib. 4.*

Bianchi and *Neri* in Florence; the *Adorni* and *Fregosi* in Genoa: and so almost through euery particular Citie:

*Machiavel
hist. flor.*

and in generall ouer all Italy, the *Guelphi* and *Ghibellini*. Here was also one here in *France*, about no greater cause then a matter of loue, betweene *Orleans*, and *Bur-gogne*. And we had one in *England*, about no smaller a matter then the Crowne (*impatientes consortis erant, Commines
maiestas & amor* :)

Both Maiestie and loue,

Do no Corriuals loue.

The view of France.

Betweene the houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, wherein *Commynes* sayth, were betweene three and fourescore of the bloud slayne. How true that is, I remember not, *Holinshed.* but as I take it, there were fought ten battels betweene them, one hundred Barons & Knights slayne, ten Princes, Dukes and Earles, and an hundred thousand naturall English.

Virgil.

Animus meminisse horret:

My mind doth tremble yet
But to remember it.

That diuision was the onely cause, why we not onely lost all we had in France, but also the meanes to recouer all which wee ought to haue had: for in those times France her selfe also was miserably distracted, & brought to so lowe an ebbe, as one sayth, *Dieu fit ce bien* *Commynes* *Cap. 27.* *ence temps-la, que les guerres & diuisions d'Angleterre esloyent encores en nature les uns contre les autres:* So may they now thanke God and our late Queene, *The Nurse of Peace, and refuge of the afflicted*, who (as is sayd of the great Earle of *Warwicke*, That he thought it as great an honour to make a King, as to be a King) to cancell with the Speares poynt the forged law of the *Saliens*, tooke not such opportunity, but raysed the afflicted lownesse of the detolate King of *Diepe*, to the peaceable possession of the great Realme of France.

But it is a thing euer obserued in great States and Kingdomes, that they neuer rise to any greatnesse, except in their rising they meet with many lets, and are sometimes euen brought to such lowe rearmes, as they are thought past all hope; as *Athens*, by the *Persians*; and *Rome* by the *Gauls*: the like is to be said of great Princes; as of *Eduard* the fourth of England,

The view of France.

land, and this *Henry* the fourth of France, of whome we may truly report, as *Plutarch* doeth of *Camillus*, *Plut. Cam.*
Si Camillus n'eust esté perdu, Rome ne se fust pas retrouvée: If
Camillus had not bene lost, *Rome* had not bene found againe. *Possidonius* calles *Marcellus* the (sword) and *Fabius* the (buckler) of *Rome*: but we may call this King *The*
 both the one and the other to *France*: to one, to cut *King.*
 off all disturbers of the State; the other, to defend his Subjects in the libertie of their conscience, and enjoying of peace. This office he now executes in his quiet reigne; that other he used in time of the ciuill warres, when as alwayes they of the Kings part sent for his aide to the suppression of the Leaguers, though after that done, they cared not for him. So saith *Plutarch* of *The-*
mistocles, *Les Atheniens n'y honoroient, n'y ne l'estimoient* *Plu. Them.*
point en temps de paix, mais quand il leur suruenoit quelque orage de guerre, & qu'ils se voyoient en danger, ils
recourroyent à luy: ne plus ne moins qu'on fait à l'ombre d'un
Platane, quand il suruient vne soudaine pluye, & puis apres
quavale beau temps est venu, on l'esbranche & luy coupe l'ou
ses rameaux: The *Athenians* neither honoured, nor esteemed him in time of peace: but when they were ouertaken with any storme of warre, and that they sawe themselves in danger, then they had recourse to him; as men use to runne in a suddaine shower to the shelter of a Plane tree, and as soone as it is faire weather againe, they breake and cutte off his branches.

This King then, of whom now by course I am to relate, is about 48 yeeres of age, his stature small, his haire almost all white, or rather grissled, his colour fresh and youthfull, his nature stirring and full of life,

The view of France.

Du Fay.

like a true French man. One of his owne people describeth him thus, *De son naturel il est si extremement vif et actif qu' à quoy qu'il s' adonne, il s'y met tout entier ne faisant s'amaix gueres qu' une seule chose à la fois. De joindre une longue deliberation avec un faict presse cela luy est malaise. Le faire et le delibere se rencontrent en mesme temps. Mais aux conseils qui ont trait de temps à la verité, il a besoigne d' estre soulage. Une promptitude admirable d' esprit. Aux affaires de la iustice, des finances, aux negociations estrangeres, aux depesches, à la police d' estat il croit les autres, il ne s' en mesle point:* He is of such an extremely liuely, and actiue disposition, that to whatsoeuer he applyes himselfe, to that hee entirely employes all his powers, seldome doing aboute one thing at once. To ioyne a tedious deliberation with an earnest and pressing affayre, he cannot endure: Hee executes and deliberates both together. But in Councils that require tract of time, to say the truth, hee hath neede of helpe. He hath an admirable sharpnesse of wit. In affayres of iustice, of his Reuenues, forrayne Negotiations, Dispatches, and gouernment of the State, hee credites others, and meddles little himselfe.

He sayth there farther, that though by his Phisiognomy, his fashion & maner of behauiour, ye would iudge him leger and inconstant, yet is no man more firmly constant then he. He confesseth it were hard for him, not to be sparing, considering the profuse and lauish spoyle that his predecessor made before him: yet to salue the matter, he makes this difference, *That the other gaue much to few, this giues a little to many.* If you remember when we saw him play at dice, here in Orleans, with his Noblesse, he would euer tell his money very precisely, before he gaue it backe againe.

I will

The view of France.

I will not spare in this discourse (which is onely for your selfe priuate) to speake the trueth, though of a King; we are here in a Country, where ye daily heare his owne Subiects speake of him more liberally.

And besides, his Maiestie hath generally this commendation, which is very laudable in a Prince, he can endure that any man should tell him the truth, though of himselfe. Which I will interpret to wisdom, though perhaps some will impute it to a facility of nature. Concerning this thriftie vertue then of sparing, we must note that he is a very good mesuager. *Il fait d'argent avec ses dens*: He makes money with his teeth, saith the Frenchman, meaning his sparing of great and superfluous expence at his table. And for his gistes, wee may call him by an *Antiphrasis*, as *Plutarch* sayth they vsed to call *Antigonus* in scorne (*dofon*) that is, *qui donnera: pour ce qu'il promettoit tousiours & iamais ne donoit*: One that will giue: because he alwayes promised, but neuer performed. Plut. Pan. Aemil.

For my part, I thinke he giues S. P. Q. R. not *Senatus populoq, Romano*: that is, to all sorts of people but *Si Peu Que Rien*, so little, as scarce any at all. They say, that the chamber of Accounts, is to examine the Kings gistes: and if they find any vnmeasurable, to shorten them: to which purpose, there is written in great letters in the same court, *Trop donne soit repeté*: Let gistes too great be reuoked. It should seeme hee saues them this labour. Such a parsimonious sparer was *Lewes* 11. of whom in the said chamber of Accounts (as *Bodin* saith) it is recorded, that he wore a greazy hatte, and clothes of the coursest stufte; and there likewise yee shall find a reckoning of 20. *sols* that is, ii. s. sterling, for

The view of France.

a new payre of fleeces to his olde dublet: an another of
15. deniers, that is, three halfe-pence, for grease to liquor
his bootes. This was he, that made his Taylor his He-
rald of Armes, his Barber his Ambassador, and his
Communes Surgeon his Chancellor, of whome *Communes* repor-
teth many vertues, & as many faults, and yet it should
seeme, that *Communes* his seruant would not tell all; for
so sayth another of the French Historians, discoursing
Haill, impartially of this *Lewes*, *Nous auons librement dit ce que*
Communes n' a ose et volu dire, et ce que les autres n' ont seeu:
We haue freely spoken what *Communes* durst not, nor
would not speake, and what others knew not. Though
he himselve protesteth, that he left none of his trumpe-
Communes ries, and double dealings, vnreuealed, *Non pour en user*
mais pour en garder: Not to practise, but to preuent the:
As we desire to know the poyson, in the Apothecaries
shop, from his other good drugges, not to vse, to the
hurt of others, but to shunne, for the safety of our selues.

Q. Mother And howsoeuer *Haillan* taxe him of impartialitie,
of Commi. true it is, that the *Q. Mother* did not like him, of all o-
thers: For (said she) *hee hath made as many Heretikes in*
Policy, as euer Luther made in Religion, by discovering the se-
crets of State: Which should be kept as secret, as the Ca-
ball of the *Iewes*, or verses of the *Druides*. But neither the
sparing of this Prince, that now raigneth (of whose ver-
tues I will presently speake) nor the faults of *Lewes* the
11. make them the onely two Kings of this Realme, tax-
Haill. l. 2. able about the rest: For one of their writers sayth in ge-
neral, that France hath fatally beene subiect to this, *mal-*
heur (defaster) to haue Kings, *imbecilles et estroppiez de l'*
entendement, (weake and lame in iudgement.) He recko-
neth vp many, as *Charles* the great, a *paillard* (a wencher:)

Pepin

The view of France.

Pepin a usurper, *Lewes* the first *lasche et mol*, (saint-hearted, and effeminate) and after these three other *Charleses*, the *balde*, the *grosse*, & the *simple*, which no doubt, if they had deferred better Epithites, should haue had them: Inso-much as one concludeth of the good Kings of France, as *Suetonius* did of the Princes of his time, *Se pouuoient bien* *Suetonius.* *tous gramez en un anneau*; they might al be grauen in one ring. But I had rather conclude with *Bodin*, *There is no* *Bod. l. 5.* *Prince without his fault*. Howbeit those few that are in this Prince, are recompenced with many very heroicall and princely vertues, both of body & mind. For those of the mind, let me only comend the excellency of wit, and suddenesse of answere, whereof wee may take acknowledgement in these three, which I wil here recount, answerable in my opiniō, to any of those Apophthegms of the olde Kings, or Philosophers, which history hath commēded to vs. At his being here at *Orleans*, this Iune last past, the Maior and Burgees of the Towne came to his Maiestie, to desire they might bee eased of certayne extraordinary taxes and impositions, wherewith in the time of the league, they had been burdened by *Mons. de la Chastre*, their Gouvernour. Saith he, *M. de la Chastre vous a liguez, qu'il vous desligue*: *M. de la Chastre* hath tide you, let him vntyte you. At his being at the siege of *Amiens*, amongst others of the Noblesse, which he summoned to that seruice, he sent also for the *Count Soissons*, a Prince of the bloud, & one of the rarest Gentlemen of France, to whom the King giues (as is said) 5000. Crowns pensiō. The *Comms*, at that time discontented, returned the King answere, that he was a poore Gent. & wanted meanes to come to that seruice, as became one of his birth & place, being a Prince of the bloud, & Peere of France: he therefore most humbly craued pardon, and that hee would

The view of France.

pray for his Maiesties prosperous successe, which was all he could doe. Well, saith the King, *D'autant que les prieres ne seruent point sans ieusne, il faut qu'il ieusne de la pension deses 5000.escus*: Seeing prayer is not acceptable without fasting, my couzin shall hereafter fast from his pension of fivethousand Crownes.

After the death of the Duke of *Guise*, when almost all France had reuolted from the late King, & like a poore (*Roy d' Indol*) as the French prouerbe is, he was chased of them of the League, from all places of France, to *Toures*, and was there, as it were besieged of *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne*: After that this King present came thither with his small forces, to the distressed Kings succour, the King of France, whose name was also *Henry*, would needes perswade *Henry* King of *Navarre*, with those small forces, which they both had, to march out of the Towne, and encounter the Dukes forces, who were double the number. *Sirs* (saith hee) *ne hazardons point vn double Henry contre vn Carolus*: Let vs not play a double *Henry*, against a *Carolus*: (that, is a peece of gold, of 14 shillings, and this, a peece of brasse onely of 10. deniers.) For his valour and princelike courage, it is such, to say truly, as neuer any of his Predecessors, Kings of France, were matchable to him, who, for the space of almost thirty yeeres, hath, as one would say, neuer beene vnarmed, without his foote in the stirrop, and his lance in the rest, hath beene himselfe in person, the formost in all perils, and last out of the field: A Prince not long in the resoluing, but once resolved, quicke to performe, and himselfe alwayes, one in the executiō; though perhaps some wil taxe this hazarding of his owne person, as a matter of imputation, and bet-

27
The view of France.

ter befitting a young Prince of *Nauarre*, then a great King of France. For as I read, *Epaminondas* was fined *Plut. Ep.* for hauing beene too forward, & seruing without good armour, after a great victory, which he had vpon the *Lacedemonians*.

This forwardnesse indeed is most honourable, and prayse worthy in all Nobilitie, and Commaunders whatsoeuer, excepting onely the chiefe. *Iphicrates* an *Athenian* Captayne, sayd, the *Vantcuers*, resembled the hands, the *Gensdarmes*, the feet, the *Batallion* on foot, the brest, and the *Generall*, the head: which (saith hee) must best be armed, and carefulest bee garded. And therefore, the answer of *Callicratidas* is disliked, who, when it was tolde him, that in the battell hee was ready to giue the enemy, he should haue great care of his own person, for that the Sacrifices had foreshewd some danger: *Sparte dit il ne depend pas d'un homme seul: Sparta* depends not vpon one man alone. This *Plutarch* repro- *Plut. Pel.* ued in *Pelopidas*. And *Homer* in his descriptions, makes alwayes *Achilles*, *Ajax*, and the best and chiefeest Commaunders, best armed:

Stetit sub Aiakis clipeo septemplex tectus:

Homer.

The shield of *Ajax* seuen-fold

Did shrowd him safe, and make him bold.

And the lawes of *Greece* punished that Souldier, that threw away his buckler. But I will end this discourse with the answer of *Timotheus*, to *Chares*, a Generall, talking of his many woundes of the body, and hackes in his shield: and I (quoth he) quite contrary, am ashamed of this, that when I besieged *Samos*, I came so neere the walles, that an arrowe from the Towne lighted hard by me: For that *Je m'estois trop aduance en ieune homme,*

The view of France.

& hazarde plus temerairement, qu'il ne conuenoit à Chef d'une si grosse armée: I went too farre, like a forward yong fellow, and hazarded my selfe more rashly, then became the Generall of so great an Army. For the chiefe Commaunder is the moiety of the whole force.

When one told *Antigonus*, that the enemy had more shipping then he, at the Ile of *Andros*: *Et moy dis-il ponz combien de vaisseaux conte tu?* I pray you, for how many ships count you me?

If then one Generall be in stead of many ships at sea; and many troopes at land, it behoueth he be carefull to keepe those forces well (that is, him selfe) if he will doe his Countrey good seruice. You must note therefore, that there is no man so great by birth, or Noble, whom it well becommeth not to be as valiant and forward as the best, euen though hee were a King: and indeed the greater hee is, the more his honour is engaged to be valiant; prouided alwayes, that hee bee not the chiefe Commaunder of the Army. As the King of Boheme dyed in the field, on the French Kings side, fighting against the English in France, with more honour, then the French King *Francis* the first, at *Panie* in Italy, where, by his too great forwardnesse, hee was taken Prisoner.

*Vigner.
lib. hist.*

Therefore it is that one saith, *Vn bon & savy General doit mourir de vieillesse*: A good and discret Generall should dye of age.

But to returne to the King. Hee is naturally very affable and familiar, and more (we strangers thinke) then fits the Maiesty of a great King of France. But it is the fashion of this Countrey of France (as *Bodin* sayth) though he seeme much to misse-like it, and preferreth the

Bodin, li. 4

The view of France.

the fashion of England, Suedon and Poland, where the Princes haue more Maieſty and reuerence among their ſubieſts: For as *Plutarch* ſayth, *C'eſt bien difficile de plus. Peru* *maintenir une ſeuere grauité pour garder ſa reputation, en ſe laiſſant familièrement haüer à tout le monde:* Tis a hard matter for a man to keepe a ſeuere gravity for the vpholding of his reputation, if he familiarize himſelfe with euery body. Wherevpon he there ſheweth, how retyredly *Pericles* liued from the common view of the vulgar ſort. So we likewise reade of the Kings of *Bor-ny*, *Æthiope*, *Tartary*, the grand Signor himſelfe, and the great Duke of *Molcouy*, that they ſeldome come abroad in publike to be ſeene of the people. We may therefore ſay of the Frenches liberty, as *Artabanus*, Lieutenant General to *Xerxes*, ſaid to *Themistocles*, *Quint plu. Them.* *à vous autres Grecs, on dit que vous eſtimez la liberté et l'éga-* *lité ſur toutes autres choſes: mais quant à nous entre pluſieurs* *autres belles conſtumes et ordonnances que nous auons, celle-la* *nous ſemble, la plus belle de reuerer et adorer noſtre Roy, com-* *me l'image de Dieu de nature, qui maintient toutes choſes en* *leur eſtre, & leur entier:* Tis ſayd, that you Greeks aboue all things eſteeme liberty & equality: but among many other our excellent cuſtomes & ordinances, wee iudge this to be the beſt, to reuerence and adore our King, as the Image of the God of nature, that maintaynes all things in their being and perfection. And we may wel inferre as *Haillan* doth, *Familiaritas parit contemptum, Teren.* *and contemptus, coniurationem:* le meſpriſe eſt la cauſe de *Haillan*, *coniurations* contre le Prince: Familiarity breeds contempt, and contempt, treason.

You ſaw here in *Orleans*, when the Italian Commedians were to play before him, how himſelfe came whi-

The view of France.

Terence,
Regem sa-
miliarem
MATTAS.
sing with a small wand to scowre the coast, and make place for the rascall Players (for indeed these were the worst company, and such as in their owne Countrey are out of request) you haue not seene in the Innes of Court, a Hall better made: a thing, me thought, most derogatory to the Maiesty of a King of France.

And lately at *Paris* (as they tell vs) when the Spanish Hostages were to be entertayned, he did Vsher it in the great Chamber, as he had done here before; and espying the Chayre not to stand well vnder the State, mended it handsomly himselfe, and then set him downe to giue them audience.

His
Pedi-
gree.

It followeth, I speake of his descent and Pedigree; wherein you shall see hee is lineally descended of the house of *Burbon*, from *Robert*, Earle of *Clermont*, yonger sonne to *Lewes*, surnamed the Saint, from whome (for default of heires males in the house of *Valois*, descending of *Philip le hardi*, the elder brother) hee is now rightly entituled to the Crowne of France. The lineall descent of this house of *Burbon*, whose word is *Esperance* (Hope) is this:

Saint

The view of France.

Terence. Ring with a small wand to scowre the coast, and make
Regem sa- place for the rascall Players (for indeed these were the
miliarem worst company, and such as in their owne Countrey
MATIAS. are out of request) you haue not seene in the Innes of
Court, a Hall better made: a thing, me thought, most
derogatory to the Maiesty of a King of France.

And lately at *Paris* (as they tell vs) when the Spanish
Hostages were to be entertayned, he did Visier it in the
great Chamber, as he had done here before; and espy-
ing the Chayre not to stand well vnder the State, men-
ded it handsomly himselfe, and then set him downe to
giue them audience.

His
Pedi-
gree.

It followeth, I speake of his descent and Pedigree;
wherein you shall see hee is lineally descended of the
house of *Burbon*, from *Robert*, Earle of *Clermont*, yonger
sonne to *Lewes*, surnamed the Saint, from whome (for
default of heires males in the house of *Valois*, descen-
ding of *Philip le hardi*, the elder brother) hee is now
rightly entituled to the Crowne of France. The lineall
descent of this house of *Burbon*, whose word is *Espe-*
rance (Hope) is this:

Saint

Saint Lewes had two sonnes, namely,

1

Philip le Hardy, King of France.

YOU may obserue in this waste space of paper, that in the yeere 1328. Philip, who was sonne to Charles, Count of Valois, came to the crowne, by the name of Philip the sixth of Valois: since when, all the Kings of this elder house are called (de Valois) not that it is the sur-name of their Family, which most writers, and euen the French themselves haue thought, Haillan, lib. 3. d' Estat.

2

Robert, Earle of Cleremont, married to Beatrice, daughter to Archibald of Burbon.

Lewes, Count of Cleremont, & first Duke of Burbon, married to Mary, Countesse of Heynalt.

Iaques, Duke of Burbon, married to Iane de S. Paul.

Iohn, Duke of Burbon, Count of March, married to Katherin, Countesse of Vandosme.

Lewes of Burbon, Count of Vendosme, married to Iane of Lauall.

Iohn of Burbon, Count of Vendosme, and Isabel his wife.

Francis of Bur. Count of Vendosme, to Mary of Luxembroughe, Countesse of S. Paul.

Charles of Burbon, to Francis of Alencon.

<i>Anthony of Burb. King of Anguie.</i>	<i>Francis Du. of Anguie.</i>	<i>Charles Card of Burbon.</i>	<i>Iohn, Du. of Ang.</i>	<i>Marguerite married to the Duke of Burg.</i>	<i>Lewes of Bur. Prince of Wales.</i>
---	-------------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------	--	---------------------------------------

Francis of Bur. Count of Vendosme, to Mary of Luxembroughe, Countesse of S. Paul.

Charles of Burbon, to Francis of Alencon.

Anthony of Burb. King of Nauarre.	Francis Du. Card of Anguiè.	Charles of Burbon.	John, Du. of Ang.	Marguerite married to the D. of Nener.	Lewes of Bur. Prince of Conde.
-----------------------------------	-----------------------------	--------------------	-------------------	--	--------------------------------

Henry 4. K. of France & Nauarre, 3. base children.	Katherine, Princeesse of Nauarre, now presently to be married to the Prince of Lorraine.
--	--

Henry, P. of Conde.	Francis, P. of Conty.	Charles, Count of Soissons.
---------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------------

Henry Prince of Conde, heire apparent to the Crowne of France.
--

Cesar D. de Vandosme.	Henryette a daughter.	Alexander, Count de Foix.
-----------------------	-----------------------	---------------------------

Now yee see from what Ancestors he is come: yee must also obserue what *His* issue is come of him. In the vnfortunate and inhumane massacre at Paris, *childrè.* wherein the olde Admirall, the greatest Souldier in France, and many thousand of other of the Religion were murdered, the same time was this King married to Marguerite de Valois, daughter to Henry the second, and siter to the last King: With her these many yeres past, he hath not liued, neither hath by her any issue. I haue heard, the reason of their liuing apart, is her incontinençie. By Madame Monceau his Mistrisse, whome of late he hath made Dutchesse of Beaufort, hee hath three children liuing: but by reason of their illegitimation and incapabilitie to succede, the apparency of Inheritance as yet bideth in the young Prince of Condie, a towardly Gentleman, of much hope, and very well fauoured, of the age of 11. yeres, whome ye saw at S. Maur.

Concerning

Place this leafe betweene H & I.

29
The view of France.

Concerning the Coronation of the Kings of *France*, I read, that in the first race, they vied no other solemnitie, but onely to lift him vp vpon a shield, and cary him about the Campe; crying, *Vive le Roy*: God saue the King: for thus *du Haillan* out of *Gregory de Tours* reporteth of the crowning of *Clouis*, the first that was christned. Since in the yeere 1179. *Philip Augustus* ordained the Coronation to be alwayes at *Rhemes* in *Champaigne*: for before that time, they were crowned (but not here) as *Lewes the Grosse* at *Orleans* 1099. *Pepin* at *Soissons*, and *Charlemagne* at *S. Denis*. And since then also, vpon occasion, they change sometimes the place, as ye see in this King for example, who was crowned at *Chartres*.

*His
Coro-
nation.
Haill. l. 3*

The ornaments heretofore vsed at this solemnization, are these: A great crowne of gold, wherewith he is crowned: a lesse crowne, which he beares that day at dinner, made by *Philip Augustus*. The Camisoles, Sandales, Tunicke, Dalmaticke, and Mantel of blue Satten, made by *Henry 2*, who also garnished of new, the olde Crownes, the Scepter, the Sword, the Spurres. All which were ordinarily kept in the Church of *S. Denis*: whence in these late ciuill warres, they were taken by the League, and money made of them. *La Ligne vn monstre insatiable, vn gouffre qui deuoure tout, vn feu qui consume tout, vn torrent qui ruine tout, a volé, brisé, cessé, fondu, tous ces ornemens royaux*: The League, a Monster that eates all, a Gulfe that deuoures all, a fire that consumes all, a Torrent that ruines all, hath stollen, bruized, broken, melted all these Royall ornaments.

Haill. l. 3.

The King of *France* present hath made newe ornaments for the Coronation, which you saw at *S. Denis*.

The view of France.

Hail, li. 3. The Princes and Peeres of France haue these Offices in that solemnitie. The *Archbishop* of *Rhemes* doth anoint him King. The *Bishop* of *Laon* beares the Ampulle. The *Bishop* of *Beauuais* beares the Mantell Royall. The *Bishop* of *Noyon*, the Girdell. The *Bishop* of *Chalons*, the Ring. The *Duke* of *Burgondie*, the Crowne. The *Duke* of *Guyenne*, the first Banner. The *Duke* of *Normandie*, the second. The *Count* of *Tholouse* the Spurres. The *Count* of *Champaigne*, the Banner Royall or Standard. The *Count* of *Flanders*, the Sword royall. Thus crowned, hee holdeth the Sword in his hand, and turning himselfe foure times, East, West, North, and South, protesteth to defend the Church, and maintaine Iustice against all persons of the world: For which hee hath the Title of *Most Christian King*, and first *Sonne of the Church*: and is in right to haue precedence next the *Emperour*, before all Princes Christian; though the *Spanish* Embassadour of late, hath thrust for the place, and sometimes had it, as namely, at the Councel of *Trent*: which wrong afterward, the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals confessed, and disauowed the fact.

*His
Title.*

The *Spaniard* also once since at the *Emperours* Court tooke the place, and in *Polonia* likewise they lately strived, where it was ordeined (as our law is at the Ordinaries in London) that hee which came first, should sit first. The *Turke*, when hee writes to him *Bod. li. 4.* this Title, *Le plus grand, et le Maieur des plus grands Princes Chrestiens*, The greatest and chiefest of the greatest Christian Princes.

And whereas *Hailian*, but with no great ground out of Histories, would needes inferre, that all other Christian

30
The view of France.

Asian Princes hold of the Empire, he alleageth for a singular preeminence and prerogative, that this King holdeth nothing either of the Empire, or Church of Rome, but that he is next and immediatly vnder God, supreme, both ouer the Ciuill and Ecclesiasticke bodie of France: because (saith he) he can impose taxes and payments vpon the Church, without asking the Pope leaues; he cannot onely present, but also conferre benefices; he hath in right the Election of the Pope, as *Charlemagne* had, though *Leues Debonnaire*, his sonne, renounced againe this authoritie: for, *Un Roy ne peut quitter son droit*: A King cannot giue away his right.

But *Charles* the Great had not this power, as he was King of France, but as he was Emperour: I thinke therefore he doth the Empire wrong (to whom doubtlesse this right still belongeth) to bestow it vpon France. For when the Empire was translated out of France into *Germanie*, which was in the yeere 830. then were also all rightes and priuiledges, thereto belonging, of necessity to leaue this Countrey, together with the Empire, to which they are inseparably annexed. As for the Pope, ouer whom the French writers will needes giue their King a priuiledge of Election, he desires them (for ought I can learne) to haue an oare in their boat rather.

Concerning the Armes of France, they haue diuers times, as it appeares by historie, beene altered. For the first Armes were three Toades. After that, changed to three Cressants, then to three Crownes, and lastly, in the time when France embraced the Christian faith, there were sent them from heauen (say their fabulous writers) *Les fleurs ac lys d'or en champ d'azure*. The floures *de Luce Or*, in a field Azure.

The view of France.

With these armes of *France*, the King nowe present quartereth his Armés of *Nauarre*, which, whether it be a wheele or a chaine with a Carbuncle in the midst as some say, or what els I knowe not, I cannot yet bee satisfied of any Frenchman that I haue asked.

*His
Court.*

*Dern
troubl.*

I should now by course speake of the French Court, wherein, hauing yet spent no time, I haue little to say. I make no question, but at our returne into these parts, you will sufficiently instruct your selfe therein, as with the diuers offices, the number of the Noblesse that ordinarily follow it, and their seuerall humours and fashions, which is a thing very fit for you to obserue. I can onely remember you of that, which your selfe haue read in the booke of the late troubles, (which you may well call an Historicall declamation, or declamatory history) where it is said, *Iamais la Cour de nos Roys, qui estoit autres-fois, le seminaire des vertus de la Noblesse Françoisse, ne regorgea en plus de desordres des luxes & d'exces, que sous le regne du Henry 3*: Neuer did the Court of our Kings, which was heretofore the seede-plot of vertues for the French Noblesse, more abound in all disorders of wantonnesse and excesse, then vnder the raigne of *Henry* the third. But that was a censure of the Court, in the dayes of a Prince giuen ouer to pleasures, and excessiue spending, in so much as I haue here heard say, that the only solemnizing of the marriage of Duke *Joyeuse* (his Mignon) cost him two hundred thousand crownes. But it is likely, that now the humour of the King being otherwise, the fashion also of the Court is changed: for,

Claudian.

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis:

Looke in what mould the King is form'd,

To

The view of France.

To that his subiects are conform'd.

Whereof you may haue two very fit examples here in France; of *Lewes*, the 11. and *Frances* the 1. without seeking further.

King *Lewes* would haue his sonne *Charles* learne no Latine, forsooth, but onely this sentence, *Quis nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*, He that knowes not how to dissemble, knowes not how to raigne. Hereupon all the Court began to despise learning, and to say, that Latine was for a Priest, not for a Gentleman: And that it was learning ynough for a Nobleman, if hee could write his owne name, yea, and I haue heard of an Admirall of France, that could not do that neither.

The second example is, of *Frances* the first, who cut his hayre short, because of a hurt hee had in his head: and presently all the Court and Noblesse followed that fashon, cutting (sayth *Bodin*) their long lockes, *qu'estoit l'ancienne marque de beaute, et de la Noblesse*: Which was the ancient badge of beauty, and Nobilitie. Which olde fashon, I doubt not but they had from the *Lacedemonians*, whose youth were all of them commaunded to weare long lockes, because (saith their Law-maker) *Les cheueux viennent ceux qui sont beaux encore plus beaux, et ceux qui sont laids plus espouuables et plus hideux à voir*: Long hayre makes such as are lovely, more lovely, & such as are hard-fauoured, more dreadfull and hideous to behold.

The carriage of a Prince, though it bee a naturall defect, and disgraceful, is oftentimes imitated of the Courtiers by affectation. *Philip* of *Macedon*, and *Ferdinand* of *Naples*, held their heads awry vpon the one shoulder, and both their Courts followed, *Tel Maistre, tel vallet*:

The view of France.

Like Master, like man. You see, in that thing wherein you would most be instructed, I am least able to suffice you, by reason we haue not seene the Court at all, siue onely two dayes, while it staid here at *Orleans*. Howbeit, out of that which I there saw, which I haue heard of others, and read in Authors, I will aduenture to relate, concerning the Officers of this Court; for as for other great Offices, as of *Constable*, *Admirall*, *Marshal*, *Grand M. of the Eaux* and *Foyers*, *Grand M. of the Artillery*, and others, I shall speake of them, when I come to relate of the Kings Forces ingenerall, to which place these Offices especially appertayne.

Offi-
cers of
Court.

Grand M. of France: The first Office then of Court, is that of the *Grand Maistre*, Great Master, which in elder times was called *Comte de Palais*, Earle of the Palace, and after changed into the name of *Grand Seneschal*, and now lastly into *Grand Maistre*. The Count *Soissons*, youngest Son to *Lewes* *Hail. li. 3.* of *Burbon*, Prince of *Condé*, doth now enioy this place. It was not long since, in the house *Memorency*: but the French King, to fauor the D. of *Guise*, vpon whom he bestowed the place, caused the other to quit it. It is his office, to iudge of matters of difference, betweene other Offices of Court. He had also the charge to giue the word to the Gard, to keepe the keyes of the Kings priuate lodging & to determine in disputes amōg Princes, that followed the Court, for their lodgings. In assēblies he sitteth right before the K. a stayre lower, as you read in the *Dern. Trobl.* *Grand Boutellier*, or *Eschançon*, Great Butler or Taster, was in former times, a great Office in the Kings house, they had place in the Courts of Iustice, as *Peeres*. This Office was long in the house of the *Panetier*. Countes of *Senlis*: it is now vanished, and onely there remaines that of the *Grand Panetier*. This Office is ancient.

Der troubl.
lib. 4.

Grand
Panetier.
Great
Pantler.

22

The view of France.

ent; he hath besides the Kings house, superintendence over all Bakers in the City and Suburbs of *Paris*. They which were wont to be called *Panetiers*, *Eschancons*, and *vallets trenchans*: Pantlers, Tasters and Caruers, are now called *Gentils-hommes Seruiteurs de la Cour*: Gentlemen Waiters of the Court.

The Office of *grand Chambellan*, great Chamberlayn, was long in the house of *Tankerville*; he lay at the Kings feet, when the Queene was not there. His priuiledges are now nothing so many as in times past. Those which were then called *chambellans*, Chamberlaines, are now *Gentils-hommes de la Chambre*, Gentlemen of the Chamber. The office of *grand Escuyer*, great Esquier, is not very ancient, though now it be very Honourable, and is the same that M. of the Horse is in the Court of England: for it is taken out of the Constables office, to whom it properly appertained, & thereof he had his name, *Comestable*, *quasi Comes stabuli*, Count of the stable. It was first instituted in the time of *Charles 7*. In the K. entrance into the City, he carries the Sword sheathed before him, The cloth of Estate carried ouer the King by the Maior and Sheriffes, belongs to his Fee. No man may be the Kings Spur-maker, *Mareschall*, and such like Officer, but he must haue it of him, as also all other interiour offices belonging to the Stables. He had in times past, the command ouer stages of Post-horses: but now the Contreroller, generall of the sayd Posts, hath it. This Office is now exercised by *Monsieur de Thermes*, *Seigneur de Bellegarde*, a gallant Gentleman, and one of the finest Courtiers of France. The Office of *Maistre d'hotel du Roy*, Master or Steward of the Kings house, hath charge ouer the expence of the Kings house:

Gentils-hommes seruiteurs de la Cour
Gentlemen Waiters of the Court.
Gentils-hommes de la chambre
Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber
Grand Escuyer
Great Esquier, or Master of the horse
Hail. 3.

Maistre d'Hotel
Master or Steward of the Kings house.

The view of France.

For a marke of his authoritie, hee carries a Truncheon tip at both ends with Siluer and gilt, and marcheth before the Sewer, when the Kings dinner comes to the Table.

No Sergeant can arrest any of the Kings house, without their leaue. They serue quarterly: they were wont to bee but foure, but now I haue heard it credibly said, they bee 80. in name, but all of these doe not execute the Office. The *Grand Prouost de France et del' hostel du Roy*, Great Prouost of France, and of the Kings house, so called, since *Charles* the ninth: for before, hee was called, *Roy des ribauds*, King of the Raskals: His Office is to stickle among the Seruants, Pages, Lacqueis, and *Filles de ioye* (Punkes or pleasant sinners) which follow the Court, and to punish all offences in these people.

*Grand
Prouost de
France,
&c.
Great
Prouest
of France
&c.*

Haill. 1. 3.

*Grand
Faucon-
nier et
grand
Veneur.*

*Great
Faulcon-
ner, and
great
Hunt.
Gentils
hommes
de sa gard
Gentle-
men of
the Kings
Gard.*

I should haue named before these last, as a place more honourable, the Office of *Grand Fauconpier*, and *Grand Veneur*, Great Faulconer, and great Hunt, who haue authoritie ouer all Officers of chase. They of the Kings chamber, are either *Gentils hommes de la Chambre*, Gentlemen of the Chamber, of whom I spake before, or *Valleys de la Chambre*, Groomes of the Chamber, which are but base Groomes and *Roturiers*, yeomen.

Les cent Gentils-hommes de sa Garde, The hundred Gentlemen of his Gard (though there bee two hundred of them) they hold and vse a weapon, called *Le bec de corbin*: They march two and two before him: they are part *French*, and part *Scots*: The *Scot* carries a white Cassocke, powdred with Siluer plates, and the Kings deuise vpon it: The *French* weare the Kings colours. There is also a Gard of *Swisse*, attired in particoloured Cloth, drawne out with Silke,

after

The view of France.

Of Saint Michael Antiq. Par. Nobilitie, by three descents, from the Fathers side. You haue many in France, that are called *Cheualliers des ordres d'uray*: Knights of the Kings orders: that is, both of the order of Saint *Esprit*, and Saint *Michael* also. The order of Saint *Michael* was instituted by *Lewes* the 11. in the yere 1469. the statutes whereof are comprised in 98. Articles; amongst which this is one, That there should neuer be aboute thirty sixe of the order. But saith *La Nouë*, this Article was so ill obserued, that at one time there haue bin 300. whereof 100. shortly after, by reason of the great charges, and trayne they kept, were forced
La Nouë. Comment. de l'Esp. (as he there saith) *Serrer le colier dans leurs coffres*: To lock vp their collers in their Cofers. In the yeere 60. were 18. created of this order. A thing not before heard of, that so many should be made at once: which the *Constable* disliking, said, *Que l'ordre estoit mis en disordre*: the order was disordred. Against which, *Bodin* also inueigheth, and against the number of Barons made in France, without either desert, or liuing. And another complaineth, that the honourable orders of France are *exposés à l'ambition, qui estoient destinez, au merite*: Exposed to ambition, which were dedicated onely to deserts.
Bodin. l. 5. Hall. l. 3.

Of the Starre. You must note, that of *S. Michaels* order, there were 2. sortes, *du grand ordre, et du petit*: the great and the small order: Those wore a collar of Massie gold; these onely a Ribbon of silke. Before these was the order *De l'espille*, of the Starre; or as others call it, *De la vierge Marie*: of the Virgine *Mary*, instituted by *Iohn* the French King, anno, 1365. which after, growing too common (a fault generally noted in all Countries, where orders are erected, that they bee bestowed vpon too many, and some vniworthy, except onely in the most noble order of the

Garier,

The view of France.

Garter, which by the confession of all writers, maintayneth still his ancient glory) the order of the Starre, I say, growing too common, and therefore the Princes, and nobler sort, disdainning to weare it, it was bestowed vpon the (*Archers du guet*, who still weare it, the Nobility hauiug long since quitted it. But the most ancient order of France, is that of the *Geneste*, instituted by *C. Martell*. The Knights of this order, wore a Ring, wherein was engrauen the forme of a *Geneste*. The cause of instituting this order, is not knowne: it endured till *S. Lewis* 14, li. 3. his time.

Besides these foure forenamed orders, which haue beene instituted by Kings, I reade also of two others in France, which had their erection by Princes of the bloud, and were onely taken by Knights of their partie.

The order of the *Porc-espie*, raised by the Duke of Orleans, in enuy of the order of his enemy, the Duke of Burgogne.

The order of the *Croissant*, or Halfe-Moone, by the Duke of Anjou, anno, 1464. with this Mot (*Los*) as who would say, *Los en croissant*, Prayse by encreasing. The Knights of this order, had in the midst of the *Cressant*, a Truncheon, to signifie hee had beene in the warres: (for else he might not bee of that order) if twice, then two Truncheons; if thrice, three; and so orderly. His Habillement was a Mantle of Crymossin Veluet, and a white Veluet Cap.

It is not much impertinent, here also to obserue, what orders haue bene erected in other Countries: whereof, the most Noble & renowned order of *S. George* of England, is the chiefest, & therefore first to be remembered.

The view of France.

Hall, li. 3. It was instituted in King *Edward* the 3. time, before any of these of France, except onely that of the *Genet*, which (no doubt) was some obscure Order, as appeareth by the place where it was worne; and by the little, or rather nothing, which the French Writers speake thereof.

The Golden Fleece. The next is the order of the *Toison d'or*, The Golden Fleece, erected by *Philip* the second, Duke of *Burgogne*.

The collar of this order hath a Golden Fleece hanging at the end, in memory (some say) of *Gedeons* Fleece: others (which is most likely) of the Golden Fleece of *Colchus*, which *Iason* with his gallants of *Greece* ventured for. The feast of these Knights, is kept vpon Saint *Andrewes* day. The habillements, a mantle of *Crimson* Veluet, and a cap of violet colour: It was instituted

Of the Annunciati. anno, 1430. There is also the order of the *Annunciade*, erected by *Amadeus* Duke of *Sauoy*: In the collar hereof is written in Letters of gold, or stone, this word, (*fert, fert, fert*) thrice, in honour of *Amade le grand*, his Predecessor: signifying (*Fortitudo eius Rhodum tenuit*: His valour kept *Rhodes*) for that hee helped the Knights of *Ierusalem* to win *Rhodes*, vpon the *Turks*, which is since againe reconquered, and they driuen into the isle of *Malta*: At the end of the collar, hangs the portreict of the virgine *Mary*, and the Angell saluing her.

Of the Knights of Malta. Of the order of the Knights of *Malta*, yee shall see a whole Booke written, when ye come to *Italy*: As also of that of Saint *Stephen*, instituted by *Cosmo Medici*, first Duke of the vnited forces of *Florence*, and *Sienna*. I will therefore omit to speake, either of the one, or other. As also of the order of the *Band or Scarfe*, instituted by *Alphonse*, King of *Arragon*, whereof I want sufficient matter

37
The view of France.

matter to relate. I will end this discourse of Orders of knighthood, with this one obseruation, that is, that in times past, there were (as with vs) Knights, which notwithstanding, were not of the Order. Of these, were three sortes, *Cheualliers Bannerets*, *Cheualliers Bachelers*, *Tillet. ve-*
and *Cheualliers Escuyers*: Knights Bannerets, Knights *cueil,*
Batchelers, and Knights Esquires, or Armor-bearers. The first had twise as much pension as the second, and they twise as much as the third. It followeth I speake of *His*
his Forces, as well horse as foote, of which this Coun- *Forces.*
tre is very well furnished, and indeede vanteth (and I thinke worthily) to be the best and greatest *Genſdarme-*
rie of any Realme in Christendome: but on the other side, their foote haue no reputation; inſomuch as the last yere before *Amyens*, we should heare the *Spaniard*
within the Towne, speake ouer the walles to our Eng-
lish Souldiers in their Trenches, after we had ſaued the
Kings Canon, from which the French were shame-
fully beaten by them within ſallying out vpon them:

You are tall Souldiers (say they) and we honour you
much, not thinking any foote to come neere vs in repu-
tation but you, and therefore, when you of the *English*
come downe to the Trenches, wee double our Gard,
and looke for blowes: but as for these base and vnwor-
thie *French*, when they come, wee make accompt wee
haue nothing to doe that day, but play at Cardes, or
ſleepe vpon our Rampart. Of both these Forces of
horse and foote of France, you are to note this which
followeth,

It is reported of the great Turke, that when hee con- *Paul, lo-*
quereth any Prouince or Countrey, hee diuideth the *mus,*
Lands vpon his horsemen to each his portion, with an

The view of France.

exemption of paying either rent, taxe, or tallage whatsoever; onely they are bound to serue the *Grand Signore*, (Great Turke) with a proportion of horse at their owne charge, and in their owne person in his warres, except either age or sicknesse hinder, which are the two onely excuses admitted. These are called his *Timars*: of like nature as are the *Calafyes* of *Egypt*. You shall finde this that *Iouius* saith, confirmed by *La Nouë* speaking of *Greece*, *Ou* (saith he) *ils tirent leurs meilleurs hommes de guerre sur leurs terres conquises, qu'ils leur departent, à la charge de se tenir en squepage, pour venir servir au mandement de grand Seigneur*: From whence hee draweth his best men of warre, dwelling vpon the conquered Lands which hee diuideth among them, vpon condition that they shall alwayes be readie to serue at the commandement of the great *Turke*.

So did the Kings of *France* in former times bestowe vpon Gentlemen, diuers lands and possessions, freeing them likewise from taxes and aides, vpon condition to haue their personall seruice in time of neede. These lands were called (*Feifs*;) instituted before *Charlemagne* his time, but till then, they were giuen only for life (as at this day are those of the *Turkes*;) but since, they bee hereditary. The word *Feif*, hath his Etymologie of (*Foy*) Faith: signifying lands giuen by the King to his Nobilitie or men of desert, with *Haulte et basse iustice*, with an acknowledgement of fealtie and homage, and seruice of the King in his warres at their owne charge. Some *Feif* was bound to finde a man at armes; some an Archer, some the third, and some the fourth of a man at armes, according to the quantitie of land hee held. He that had land from the valew of fīue to sixe hundred

The view of France.

Livres rent (that is from fiftie to sixtie pound sterling) was bound to finde, *Vn homme de cheval en habillement d' Ord. H. 2.*
hommes d' armes: A man on horsebacke, furnished for a 1547.
 man at armes: And from three to foure hundred, *Fera*
un bon homme de cheval leger: A good light horse-man;
 Who, if it please the Prince, and vpon occasion of seruice, shall quitte his horse and serue on foot, prouided that hee haue with him a vallet Harquebutier. But they that had lesse then three or foure hundred, had a lesse proportion of charge. There be foure exceptions where a man is not bound to serue in person: If he bee sicke, if aged, if he beare some Office, if hee keepe some Frontier place or other Castle of the Kings; for in this case hee may send another.

*Publica militia vassallus munera iuste,
 Non renuat, dominusq; libens in castra vocatus,
 Aut eat, aut alium pro se submittat iturum.
 Arbitrio domini vel quem laudauerit ille,
 Compenset; redimatq; suum mercede laborem.*

*Taliter va-
 cuit.*

They are bound, vpon forfeiture of their (*Feif*) to serue three moneths within the Land, and fortie dayes without, not counting the dayes of marching. You must obserue, that as the *Seigneurs* holde their (*Feif*) of the King in *Haute iustice*, so other Gentlemen hold of them in *Basse iustice*, vpon charge to follow these *Seigneurs* at all times to the warres. For *Le feif est la chose par* *Hail. li. 3.*
l' acceptation de la quelle ceux qui le tiennent sont tenus
du serment de fidelité: enuers leurs Seigneurs. The *Feif* is the thing, by the acceptation whereof, they that hold it, are bound in oath and fidelitie to their Lordes:

The view of France.

And therefore are called their *Vassals* of (*Wessos*) the old Gaule word, which signifieth valiant; for to such were the Fieles giuen. As for (*serfs*, slaves or villaines) these are domestike, and serue vpon baser condition, for wages and victuals. There is also the (*Subiect*) that is, the poore paissant that laboureth and tilleth the (*fiefs*) and therefore yee shall heare *Monsieur le Gentleman* speake of *ses terres*, *ses hommes*, and *ses subiects*: His lands, his men, and his Subiects: and yet himselfe is vassall to the Seigneur, that holdes in *haute iustice*. But ye may note, that no word of seruice whatloeuier in this discourse, doth preiudice the libertie naturall of the vassall. The *Subiect*, nor *serf*, villaine, are bound to goe to the warres, but onely the vassall. The mustering and gathering together of these forces, is called the *Ban*, and *Arrier-ban*, of the Alman words (*Here*) *exercitus*: An armie; and (*ban*) *conuocatio*: A calling together. This *Ban* and *Arrierban* consisted anciently of twelue, sometimes fiftene thousand *Gensdarmes*: But after the corruption thereof, when the *fiefs* came to be in the hands of vnable and vnwoorthy men, the Kings of France were forced of later times, to erect the *Gensdarmes des ordonnances*: The *Gens-d'armes*, or men at Armes of his Ordinances, in *Charles 7.* time. For ye must consider, that there haue beene foure principall causes of the ouerthrowe of this *Ban* and *Arrierban*. The first was the gift to the Clergie, who it is reported haue the sixt part of these *fiefs* in their hands, and contribute nothing to the warres: for as one sayeth, *Ils ne veulent rien perdre, rien payer, rien contribuer pour leur garde, & neantmoins veulent estre gardez*: They will lose nothing, pay nothing, contribute nothing toward their

Confer. des
Ord.

His
Gens-
d'armes

Haill. l. 3

The view of France.

their garding, & yet notwithstanding they will be garded. The next was the voyages to the *Holy land*: for whē one had made a vow to go thither, to serue against the *Sarracens*, & Infidels, he sold his Fief, to furnish him for that purpose. The third was the warres with the English, wherein by force they lost them. The last cause is the sales of them to all sortes of people, without exception, as to the Lawyer, the Yeoman, and any other vnable person whatsoeuer, that will buy them: which till *Ch. 7.* they might not do. Yee see then, how necessary it was, this olde institution being corrupted and quite decayed, to erect a new: which they called *Les gens d'armes des ordonnances*: because at their first erection, there were diuers lawes and ordinances made for them to obserue, which who so brake, was surely punished. They were at first only 1500. But after, they were increased to a hundred Companies, and giuen to diuers Princes of the bloud, and Nobles of France, to conduct and commaund, with an honourable pension: In these Companies should be 6000. (for in some there is 100. in others but 50.) howbeit, it is thought, in each company there wants some, for the benefit of the Officers, and that in truth, there be not aboute foure thousand in all. For the maintenance of this *Gensdarmerie*, there is a taxe yerely leuyed vpon the people throughout all France, called the *Taille*.

Concerning both the number of the *Gensdarmes*, and their proportion of allowance, by the *Taille*, it is thus, as *La Nouë* iudgeth: *Les gens de cheual du temps du Henry* *La Nouë,*
2. passoient six mille lances: mais elles ne sont maintenant que
quatre mille. Et il me semble que quatre regiments d'Infan-
terie se doient entretenir en temps de paix, reglez à six cens
L hommes

The view of France.

hommes chacun. Et 15. mille escas per mois y suffiroit : The Horsemen in the time of *Henry 2.* exceeded the number of 6000. Lances; but they are now but 4000. and in mine opinion, it were fit to entertayne in time of peace, foure Regiments of Infantry, of 600. men a peece.

Antiq. &c.
His
Infan-
tery.

Astouching the Infantry, *Francis* the first was the first that instituted the Legionaries, which were in all, 8. Legions, and euery Legion to containe sixe thousand, according to the rate of the ancient Romanes. The first Legion was of *Normandy*. The next of *Bretagne*. One in *Picardy*. One in *Burgundy*. In *Champagne* and *Niermois* one. In *Dolpheny* and *Prouence* one. In *Lyonnois* and *Auvergne* one. And one in *Languedocke*. These companies were shortly after called: and againe, within eigh- teene yeres erected; and are now againe of late yeeres dissolued, and in their place, the Regiments now inter- tayned, which are siue in number: The Regiment of the *Gard*, The Regiment of *Picardy*, The Regiment of *Champagne*, The Regiment of *Piemont*. And lastly, the Regiment of *Gascoyne*, commonly called the Re- giment of *Nauarre*. In each of these is twelue hun- dred.

These are all now in time of peace bestowed in Ga- rison Townes and frontier places, except those of his
Bodin. l. 6. *Gard.* *Bodins* opinion is, that foure Legions of 5000. apeece, would suffice to be maintayned in this land: for (saith he) the *Romane* Empire, which was twety times
Tacit. l. 1. as great, had neuer but 11. Legions in pay: but this is to be vnderstood of them which were in pay ordinary in Italy, besides those Legions which they had in other their Coutries, as in *England*, *Spaine*, *Low Countries*, &c.

The view of France.

&c. For otherwise we read of those Emperors, that had 31. Legions; & *Bodin* himselſe confeſſeth, that *Auguſtus* had at one time entertayned in pay forty Legions, at 11. millions charge the yere. But this writer, though he be approued, as he well deſerues; yet I thinke, if he ſayled in any of his diſcourſe, it was in matter of Warre, the profeſſion whereof did ill agree with his long Robe; yee ſhall therefore take the iudgement of a diſcrete Souldier of France, for your direction what force the French can make, or intertaine of others, which is this, *Si noſtre Roy ſentoit qu'un voiſin luy uelut venir mugacter ſa* La Nouë.
frontiere, ſ'eſtime qu'il pourroit aiſement compoſer vne Arm.e de ſoixante compagnies de genſd'armes, vingt Cornettes de cheu- aux legiers. et cinq compagnies d'Harquebuſiers à cheual, le tout faiſant dix mille cheuaux. A quoy on pourroit adiouſter trois ou quatre mille Reſters plus, cent Enſeignes d'Infanterie Françoisſe, & quarante de ſes bons amys les Suiffes. Et cecy n'emp'eſcheroit que les autres frontieres ne demuraſſent ſuffiſa- ment pourueues d'hommes : If our King perceyued that any Neighbour of his meant to inuade his Frontiers, I thinke he might eaſily compoſe an Army of ſixty companies of men at Armes, 20. Corners of light Horſe, and five companies of Harquebuſiers on horſebacke, amounting all to 10000. Horſe. To which hee might adde three or ſoure thouſand Reyleers, & one hundred Enſignes of French foot, and fourty Enſignes of his good confederates, the Swiſſers, and yet mayntaine his other frontiers ſufficiently manned.

So that yee may conclude, that ſoure thouſand men at Armes, well complete, and with a proportion of light Horſe and foote anſwerable, ſheweth the whole Flower, Beauty, and force of France.

The view of France.

Howsoever the Author of the Cabinet confidently a-
uoweth, that there may easily bee mustred, and main-
tayned fourescore and odde thousand horse of one
sort and other, that is, Lance and light horse. But I feare
mee, we may say of them, as *Plutarch* sayth of the No-
blesse of *Athens*, hauing vsurped vpon the Democratie
Plut. Alcib. of that City: *Ilz estoient que quatre cens, et toutesfois se sai-
soient appeller les cinq mille*: They were indeed but 400.
and yet caused themselues to be stiled, The five thou-
sand. So I feare me, hee reckoneth after the Athenian
rate, ten for one.

*Cabinet
du Roy.*

The Cabinets reason is this: There be in France fif-
tie thousand Gentlemen that are able to beare Armes:
for (sayth he) rate this proportion at a Gentlemā in eche
league, by the measure of France (where are forty thou-
sand in square) and it wanteth but a fift. Howbeit,
sayth hee, in some Countries, ye shall haue thirty or
forty, within the compasse of one league, besides their
children. Out of these, if the King would, hee might
compose a *Gendarmery* of 8000. men at Armes, and
16000. Archers; which bodie of 24000. Gentlemen,
would represent in the field 60000. horse. Hee might
also haue a *cauallerie Legiere*, of foure or five thousand
Gentlemen. He might also furnish the *Ban* and *Ari-
erban*, according to the olde fashion, with twelue or fif-
teene thousand Gentlemen. And yet might hee haue
besides all this, foure or five thousand for the State of
his Court, and gouernment of his Prouinces. This is
his computation. But you shall see it proued, when wee
come to speake of the Nobilitie of France, that it is ex-
ceedingly shortned in number, and decayed in estate,
and therefore nothing able to come neere this number.

As

The view of France.

As good a consequent it were to say, that because yee haue two or three millions of men in England, able to fight, that therefore our State can bring so many into the field: without considering the prouision of Armes, and all other things necessary. But this Cabinet was made by one of the Religion, that was transported out of himselfe, by the heate of his zeale, and hate to the temporall liuings of the Church: Whose proiects and driftes are much like those of the *Supplication of Beggars* (a booke made in King Henry the eight's dayes) where he frameth in his fancy an *Vtopia* and felicitie, not to be hoped in France, building Castles in the ayre, and concluding, that if it would please the King to aliene the Church temporall liuings, and vnite them to the Domaine, *nihil est dictu facilius*: (a thing easily sayd, but not easily done) that ouer and besides the forces of fourescore thousand horse abouesaid, hee might also maintayne an Infanterie of the French Gentlemen of twelue thousand. Item, another of the populaire, of forty eight thousand. And lastly, yet another Infanterie legionaire of 48. thousand.

The *Supplication* was answered by Sir Thomas Moore his booke, called *The Pitifull complaint of the puling soules in Purgatory*: How well I knowe not, but of this I am sure, that if such a number of horse and foote should either bee maintayned vpon the Church liuing, or vpon the poore people (vpon whome all these charges of the *Gend'armes* lyeth, here would bee many more puling soules, and pitifull complayntes in France, then are Sir Thomas Moores *Purgatory*.

It then remaines, that we hold our selues to the iudgement of *La Nouë*, afore set downe, who also confesseth,

The view of France.

La Nouë. that in *Charles* the sixth his time, there were in the field, twentietwo thousand Lances, but since the *Gendarmerie* was instituted, were neuer but once at *Valenciennes* about ten thousand. For as for that great number, whereof yee read in *M. d'Argenton*, that belleged *Commines* *Lewes* the eleventh in *Paris*, they were the Forces of three great Princes, and the better part *Burgognois*.

There is yet one thing you must note, why the French haue quit their Lances, and serue al with the Pistol, whereof yee shall read somewhat in *La Nouë*, and heare more of others by discourse, but nothing of mee by writing: for I dare not deale, *Ultra crepidam*, in a matter I vnderstand not fully.

Officers of warre. I must now remember you of the Officers for the war in France: and because warre is made both by Sea and by land, I must also reckon the Sea officers: for as for the French Kings forces at Sea, I haue not yet learned that he hath any, and therefore can say nothing thereof.

Constable. The first and principall, and which commandeth all in the Kings absence, euen the Peeres and Princes of the blood whatsoeuer, is the *Constable*: Who, as hath before beene remembred, hath his name of *Comes stabuli*, Count of the stable. For in former times the Kings chiefe Officers were called Counts, with an addition of their office, as *Comes palatii*, *Comes praesidii*, *Comes rerum privatarum*, *Comes sacrarum largitionum*, *Comes castrorum*, *Comes marium*, Count of the Palace, Count of the Gard, &c. And though hee hath not now the command of the Kings horse, yet keepeth he still the name: This office was erected in *Lewes le Gros* his time. It was bestowed vpon the house of *Montmorencie*, in *Francis* the first his time, and remaineth still in the same.

The

The view of France.

The ancient deuice of the house of *Memorency*, is this, *Dieu aide le premier Chrestien, et premier Baron de France*: God ayd the first Christian, & anciēst Baron of France. Hee hath the keeping of the Sword royall. And as the *Grand Escuyer*: Great Esquire, hath the Sword in the scabberd *D' Azure, semé de fleurs de Lys d' or*: Azure seeded with flowers de Lyce, or added to his Armes, to beareth the *Constable* for an Honour, the naked Sword, the *Mareschals* beare the *Hache*, Battel-axe: and the *Admirals* the Anchor. The *Constable* and *Mareschals* giue the othe to the King: He sitteth chiefe Iudge at the table of Marble, vpon all persons, Sutes, Actions, and complaints whatsoeuer touching the warres. When the King entreth a Citie, in his greatest pompe, or vpon a deliuerie, he goeth before with the sword naked: & whē the King sitteth in Assembly of the three States, he is placed at his right hand. He that killeth the *Constable*, is guilty of high treason. The *Mareschals* are named, as some say, of (*Marc.*) *Mare-Chenal*, a Horse; & (*Schal.*) *maistre*, Master: *Qui commande aux cheuaux*, Commander of the horse. Others, of *March*, *cha. i. limite ou frontiere*, March or frontier: *quasi Praefectus limitum*, as it were Governour of the Marches. Till *Francis* the first, there were but two in all France; after, foure, and now ten: for as is said before, when any that held either some strong Towne or place of importance, came in to the King, hee did alwayes capitulate, to haue some one of these Offices, besides summes of money and Governments also: such was the necessities of the times, saith *Hailan*. These, vnder the *Constable* haue the cōmand ouer all Dukes, Earles, Barons, Captaines, and *Gen darmes*: but may neither giue battail, make proclamation, or Muster men, without his cōmandement.

Mare-
shall.

Cow. Or-
don.

Hail. l. 4
Ibid.

The view of France.

They haue vnder them Lieutenants, which they call *Prenosts Marshals*, who haue the punishing of mutinous souldiers, such as quit their colours, Rogues, and Admirall such like. There is the office of Admirall, *Ce que les Mareschaux sont en vne Armee de terre, l'Admiral est en Derr.tron. vne nauale*: & ces offices sont distinguez d'autant que le subiect est different & diuers: Looke what the Marshals are in a land-Armie, the same is the Admirall in a Sea-Armie: and these two offices are seuerall, because the subiect of their imployment is differing and vnlike.

Cesar.com lib. 2. This office is the most ancient of all France: for *Cesar* speaketh thereof, *Les Admiraux de la Prouence, de Bretagne & Narbonne sont loués pour la pratique & dextérité des guerres nauales*: The Admirals of *Prouence*, *Bretaigne*, and *Narbon* are much commended for their practise and skill in sea-seruice.

I maruaile therefore, why *du Haillan* reporteth, that they were first made in *Charlemagnes* dayes, and that one *M. Ritland* was the first that was made. There are now foure Admiralties, *France*, *Bretagne*, *Guyenne*, and *Prouence*. This last is alwayes annexed to the gouernourship of that Countrey: So that of *Guienne* likewise, till the King that now is, came to the Crowne, who before was Gouernour and Admirall of *Guyenne*: but since he hath diuided the commandes. Yee may obserue in histories, that all the while the French voyages were vpon the Leuant Seas, either to the *Holy-land*, *Sicile*, or *Naples*, or whither soeuer, the French alwayes had their vessels and Commanders out of *Italy*. *La France empruntoit ses Admiraux de Genes, Pise, de Venise, & de Luques*: France borrowed their Admirals from *Genoa*, *Pisa*, *Venice*, and *Luca*. These haue the tenth of all

The view of France.

all Wracke, prize or prisoners, that are taken at Sea.

Before the inuention of Shot, there was an Officer in France, called, *Grand Maistre des arbalestiers, et Cra-Grand nequiers*, Great Master of the Crosse-bowes and In-Master of gines: (for *Cranequin*, is a generall word for all instru- the Artill- ments of battery) which Office is now called The *Grand seric*, *Maistre de l' Artillerie*, Great Master of the Artillerie, who at first also, immediatly after the inuention of Shot, was called *Capitaine Generall de l' Artillerie*, Capitaine Generall of the Artillerie.

You haue also *Treasurers for the Warres*, which are ei- *Treasu-* ther ordinarie, or extraordinarie: Those pay the *Gens- rers for* *darmes*, and these the Regiments of the Infanterie. *the Wars*. Treasurers ordinarie are so many, as there bee places where they Muster: Of extraordinary, there be alwayes foure.

The Heraulds of France are fixe, *Normandy, Guyenne, Heraulds,* *Valois, Bretagne, Burgogne*, so called of the Countreyes (as with vs in England) and *Mont-joy*, who is the chiefe of the rest. Their ancient Office was to bee present at all Iusts, and Tournements, to carrie warre or peace, to summon places, to defieemie-Princes, to giue armes to men new ennobled: But now they bee onely vsed at Feastes, Coronations, Solemnities, Funerals, and such like; for they are no more vsed in the treatie and negotiation with forraine Princes. I thinke the reason is, because the Office hath of late yeeres beene bestowed vpon vnworthy and insufficient persons. It shall here be needlesse to name all other his Officers of the Warres, which are all one with those of other Countreyes, as *Collonell, Capitaine, Sergeant, Lieftenant, Ensigne, Capporall*, &c. I will onely remember in a word the French maner

The view of France.

*Presse of
Souldiers*

of Mustering, March, Charge, and service ingenerall, and then proceed to the next branch of this relation. We must obserue, that (excepting the *gens d'armes*, and the Regiments abouenamed) when any Souldiers are taken vp for the warres, they are not pressed, as with vs, but the Captaine hauing his Commission, gathereth them vp by sound of Drumme, entertayning onely such as will (which may be some cause of the badnesse, and basenesse of the French foote) for being commonly the rascall sort, and such as haue no other meanes, there cannot settle in their abiect mindes, that true and honourable resolution requisite in a Souldier. This Commission must first be shewed to the Gouvernour, Lieutenant-generall, Bailiffe, or Seneschall of the Prouince, vpon paine of death. Neither is it good, except it bee signed by the King, and one of the Secretaries of estate, and sealed with the great Seale. The Souldiers leuyed, are at the charge of the Prouince, where they be taken vp, till they depart the same. Their March it should seeme, is somewhat more sharpe then ours: For I remember I haue heard say, that vpon a time, the olde Marshall *Biron*

Marche.

Sir Ro. Will.

should bid *Sir Roger Williams* bring vp his companies » faster, taxing the slow March of the English. Sir (sayth he) with this March our forefathers conquered your » Countrey of France, and I meane not to alter it. A memorable answer of an honourable Souldier. For the

Charge.

La Nouë.

French Charge, ye shall heare the *Spaniards* opinion out of *La Nouë*, *L'infanterie Françoisse escaramouche brauement de loin et la Cauellerie a vne furieuse boutée à l'affront, puis apres qu'elle s'accommode*: The French Infantry skirmisheth brauely as farre off, & the Cauallery giues a furious onset at the first charge: but after that first heare, they will

The view of France.

will take egges for their money. And indeed this is that which all writers giue them, and which best agrees with their nature: for we may say of them, as is said of *Themistocles*, he was so hote at the onset, *que perdis le soufflé* Plu. The
au milieu de la carrière: That he lost his winde in the midst of the carriere. Or say of them, as *Fabius* of *Hannibal*, His *valour* is *comme un feu de paille, et une flamme allumée en une matière de peu de durée*: Like a fire of straw, and a flame kindled in matter of small continuance. Id. Fab.

Concerning the French discipline, *Caesar* himselfe saith *Disci-*
they had it first from vs, Gallorum disciplina in Britannia plene,
reperta, atq; inde in Galliam translata esse dicitur, et nunc qui *Caesar.*
eam rem diligentius cognoscere volunt, plerumque illò discendis Com. l. 6.
causa profecti sunt: Tis said, the discipline of the *Gauls*
 was first inuented in *Britanny*, & from thence translated
 into *Gallia*; & now such as desire to attaine the perfectiō
 thereof, commonly trauell thither to learne it. But they
 haue long since degenerated frō their old discipline of
 war: & they theselues confesse, that since the beginning
 of these late ciuill wars, where *Soldiers*, in all disordred
 & dissolute maner, haue bin giuē to pillage, & *valleries*,
 (theeuery) that it is very much *abbaſtardie*, abastardized:
 Whereof *La Nouë* cōplayneth in his discourſes, *Quant à La Nouë,*
la discipline Militaire, si faut conſeſſer qu'elle est gisante au lit
tourmentée d'une griesue maladie: As for the military disci-
 pline, we must cōfesse, that she keeps her bed, sicke of a
 very deadly disease. The *Noblesse* fight always on horse,
 & thinke it a dishonor to serue on foot. But *Com.* saith of Comme
 the Nobility of *Burgundy*, in the wars with *Leues* the
 eleuenth, that they ail quit their horses, *car lors ils esto-*
ient le plus honorez qui descendoient, à fin que le peuple en fust
plus assésuré et combatisſt mieux. et tenoyent cela des Anglois:
 For they were then most honored, that lighted on foot,

The view of France.

to the end the people might be the more encouraged, and fight more valiantly: and this they learned of the English. And it is no questiō, but if some of the French Nobilitie would doe so, it would much confirme their foote, by the example of their valour and abiding, and recouer that reputation, which now their foote haue lost in the world. Neither do I thinke this the least reason, why our Ancestors haue wonne so many battelles vpon them, namely, for that wee euer haue had men of Noble houses, to lead & serue on foot with our forces. A notable cause to confirme and assure the vnsteady headinesse of a multitude.

And for the opinion that the world hath of our foot, ye shall obserue what the same writer elsewhere sayth, *2d.* *Bonnes gens de pied, et meilleurs que leurs voisins, comme nous pourrions auourd' huy dire les Anglois et les Suisses:* They be good foote, and better then their neighbours, as wee may say now a dayes of the English and Swissers.

And in another place, where hee opineth of the manner of seruice, he sayth: *Mon aduis est, que la souveraine chose du monde es bataille sont les Archers, et la fleur des Archers sont les Anglois:* My opinion is, that in battels, Archers are the weight that turnes the ballance, and of Archers, the English are the flower: where he likewise discourseth, how daungerous a thing it is to abide a battel, except your foote be much the better: which in my opinion was no little cause why the French King fought not with the Cardinall this last yere 97. before *Amiens*, because the enemies foote were holden in number eighteene thousand (though I hardly thinke they were so many) a number full as great as the French, and the Souldier farre better, they being all French, except some
three

43
The view of France.

three thousand English, and Swissers, and theirs the choyse men of all his Garrisons, & experienced Soldiers in those Low Countries. For true it is, that the Kings *Gen^darmes* were two for one, and holden also much the better men, aswell because there was in a maner all the Nobilitie & Flower of France, as also that they had the aduantage in the maner of weapon, for that the French serueth with the Pistoll, & the Spanyard still holds him to his Lance. But I make no question, that the consideration of the oddes on foore, was not the chiefe cause why we fought not that day: for we had a goodly fayre Field, and playne as might be possible, as also large: a singular aduantage for him which is strongest in horse: So had we the winde and Sunne in our backs, which are holden no small helpes.

But this was the reason: the King thought it no policy to play all his Rest at once, where he might haue lost more at one game, then hee had got in eight yeeres: hee had no reason, but to make the Card that was now going, a Bridge of Gold (as the Prouerbe is) considering, that by this meanes hee should gayne the Towne of *Amiens*, reasssure other Cities that then stood wauering, and recouer his reputation in the world, which by the losse of that Towne was much disputed.

Of this somewhat hath beene sayde before: I therefore leaue to speake further thereof, as also of the French forces, or seruice in warres, with the onely remembrance of a French mans reason, who thought himselfe no small wise man, that would needes proue that the French seruice, and Souldier also, was better then the English: Because (sayth he) wee haue

The view of France.

Rablais. more old Captaynes in France, then you in England. Much like the reason of *Rablais*, who would needes proue, that drunkenness was better for the body then Phisike, because there were more old drunkards, then old Phisicians.

*His
Expence* It now remaineth I speake of his Expence, which chiefly consisteth in these two things before spoken of, namely, his Court and his Forces: wherein it is very hard to relate an exact proportion, considering not onely the varietie and difference of writers, but also the vncertainty of the numbers of Pensionaires, or provisioned: And lastly, the change and alteration of their allowance, not continuing alwayes the same. Howbeit, that which is most commonly reported, and seemeth neerest the truth, is this: The maintenance of fise Regiments of foote, at sixe Crownes the month, commeth to foure hundred sixtie eight thousand Crownes the yere, besides the pension of 5. Collonels, at two thousand Crownes a peece; thirty Captaynes at one thousand pension a man; as many Lieutenants at fise hundred, and Ensignes at three hundred the peece; which is in all seuentie foure thousand; which added to the first summe, makes the whole charge of these Regiments, yerely to amount to the summe of fise hundred forty two thousand Crownes. This proportion differeth not much from that of *Bodin*, where he sayth, The King might maintayne in ordinary twenty thousand foote, at the rate of three millions, and fise hundred thousand *liures*, which if you reduce to Crownes, and to one number of sixe thousand foote, commeth to a lesse rate then that other, namely, to foure hundred eight thousand, three hundred thirty three Crownes: but I thinke,

Bod. lib. 5.

The view of France.

think, that former is neerer the truth, For the allowance of his *Gens d'armes*, which are reckoned at sixe thousand, as is before said (though in truth there be but foure) for he payeth thus many, I follow the proportion of them that say, that 31750. crownes, is the ordinary allowance for one company of a hundred yerely: for where are sixe thousand men at Armes in the field, are eightene thousand horse in all. After this rate then of the hundred before set downe, the whole *Gens d'armery* amounteth to 3105000. crownes.

For the expence of his Court, you shall heare it to be *Cabinet* thus rated: The Table of the King, and those of the *du Roy*. Gentlemen of the Chamber, at 112000. crownes: for *But I doubt of this Authors report,* his *menus plaisirs*, petty pleasures, a thousand crownes a day in all 165000. (But this was a proportion for the last King, who was a great giuer.) For the *grand* and *petite Escuyrie*, great and little Stable, 190000. For the Constable, 24000. For the *grand Maistre*, great Master, 20000. For the Marshalls of France, 18000. a peece, when they were but foure; for now it is a Title onely, without either pension or commaund, saue onely in the foure chiefe. For the Admirall, 15000. for the *grand Veneur*, great Hunt, 16000. For the Gouvernours of his Prouinces in all, 188000. For the Gentlemen of his Chamber, their pension 1200. crownes a peece, in all sixe hundred thousand. For the Captaines of his Gards, *a cheual*, on Horse, two thousand a peece. For their Lieutenants, eight hundred. For two thousand Swisse of his Gard, ten crownes a month, 24840. For all other domestick Officers, one hundred thousand. For Heraults, sixe thousand. For Marshalls of lodgings and Fourriers, 4600. For Preuost Marshalls

The view of France.

of Prouinces, a thousand a peece, in all twentie foure thousand. For twentie foure hundred Archers to attend these Preuosts in the execution of their Office, seuen hundred and twentie thousand Crownes. For his Ambassadors in diuers Countreyes, two hundred and fiftie thousand. For his Officers of Finances, Treasurers, Receiuers, Controlers, and such other like Offices through France, an infinite & incredible summe: As also for such numbers of horte and foote as the Cabinet setteth downe, besides these *Genſdarmes* and Regiments, which yee heare provided for, and in the Kings pay.

But yee must obserue, that of all these Court charges and others here beforemencioned (except those of his Forces) yee are not to make any ground as of a trueth: they being onely the supposed charges, set downe by this said Authour, who for his errors in other matters, hath also lost his credit in this.

Howbeit, I thought good to remember them, that yee might thereby haue some vnderstanding of the difference of those Offices, and how one exceedeth another, as well in pension and benefit, as in precedents and honour.

To speake either particularly of the Court expenses, or generally what they be certaine, I cannot, not hauing heard any thing thereof, but onely that it is supposed, the charge of the Kings house, is fise hundred Crownes a day. But sure it is, that these late Warres haue forced the Crowne of France to be at infinite charge: for yee shall read in *La Neuë*, that about twenty yeres since, *Nos roys ont dependu aux guerres ciuiles ſoinant dix millions d'or.* Our Kings haue spent in the ciuill Warres, sixtie milli-

The view of France.

ons of Crownes. And it is said that *Monsieur Gobelin*, Treasurer d' *Espergne*, Treasurer of the Exchequer, passed his accompts this last yeere, for twentie one millions d' *or*, of Crownes: so deare was the recovering of *Amiens*; for no question, there was his greatest expence, (except the pay of Financers wages.)

What then hath bene the expence in these eight and thirtie yeeres space of the Ciuill warres, may easily be coniectured to be infinit, considering withall the lavish prodigalitie, and immeasurable spending of the Princes, especially of the last: who some let not to say, that hee left the state engaged by one meanes and other; as namely, the sale of his Aides, the alienation of his *His* *Dets.* *Domaine*, and money taken vp to vsurie, not much lesse then two hundred millions of Crownes in debt.

So that wee may say, this King findes France, after *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third, as *Vespasian* found the Empire after *Nero*, and *Caligula*, whereof the one had giuen away five and fiftie millions, and the other had spent sixtie leuen in one yeere. Whereupon he protesteth in open Senate, *Quadringenties millies. i. 1000. mill. opus esse ut resp. stare possit.* But no maruaile, though the Crowne of France grew farre into debt, considering that even before these Ciuill warres, when was no such necessitie of expence, *Henry* the second ought more in 12. yeeres, saith *Bodin*, then his predecessors had leuied vpon France in forty yeres before by all meanes. *Bodin. l. 6.*

And the Chancellour auoweth to the Court of Parliament, in *Francis* the second his time, that the King could not quit his debts, which his Grand-father and Father left him in, in ten yeres: Which debts, *Bodin* in particular proueth, to bee about the summe of fortie *Com. de l'etat.* *Bodin. l. 6.*

The view of France.

three millions, which in the same place hee setteth down, namely, 2312610. *De prests gratuits*, (of loanes or priuy Seales, *Dont il ne payoiet point d'intereſt*, 15926555. for which hee payed interest: and 775979. which he was yet owing in arrearages, of the vsance behinde to be paide. Besides, to the *Duke of Ferrara*, and other debts for marriages, to the summe of 8514592. Besides other debts to particular Marchants, of 1564787. As also the summe of 14961778. for which his Aides, Domaine, and Gabelle of Salt was engaged. And lastly, 3000000. which he ought to the *Hosbell de Paris*, to the Chamber or Towne-house of *Paris*.

But the beginning of all this is imputed to *Francis* the first, who hauing in his Coffers, one million, and seuen hundred thousand Crownes in ready money, would notwithstanding take vp great imprests of money at great vsance, to enable himselfe to goe through with his warres in *Italy*. A course very ill taken: and (if we may compare great things with small) much like to a couetous and greedie-minded man, who will venter vpon a purchase of his neighbours land, before he bee well provided for such a purpose, but taketh vp money to loane, which so eateth into him, as he is at last forced not onely to sell his new purchase, but his ancient inheritance also.

For by these great interests, a Prince is brought to one of these two extremities, either viterly to overthrow his Domaine and Finances, whereof the Kings of *France* are good examples: or else to play Bankrupt and pay no body, as now of late the King of *Spain* hath done, with the Marchants of *Genoa*, *Florence*, *Ausburghe*, and almost all the Bankes in *Christendome*: insomuch as
the

The view of France.

the last yeere, when I was in Italy, ye should heare them say in derision, that the King of Spayne had made more ill faces vpon the Exchange, in one day, then *Michael Angelo*, the famous Paynter and Caruer, had euer made good faces in all his life.

King *Philip* learned this kind of borrowing, of *Charles* the fift, his father, who at one time was indebted fiftie millions, for which his Domaynes, and Reuenues of *Naples*, and *Millaine* were morgaged, and once also in twenty yeres discharged all his debts on this fashion. And surely so they may, and yet the Creditors bee no losers (so vnreasonable is the interest they take) inso-
much, as the King of Spayne payeth thirty, or forty, at
the least, in the hundred, for all the money hee hath of *Genoueses*, before his Souldiers receiue it in the Low
Countries. Bodiu, li. 3

The French Kings, not being able to crye quittance with their *Creanciers* (Creditors) in like maner, but running on further, and further, these fortie yeeres, as ha- uing great troubles, and by consequent great charges, and little or no benefit by their Finances, and ayds (by reason of the former alienation) wherewith to defray the: It must needes be thought, that now the Crowne of France is infinitely indebted, but whether to the summe of two hundred millions or no (though it be generally reported) I dare not say.

Monsieur Bretagne, in *Charles 9.* anno, 1562. in his *Harangue* (Oration) for the third estate at the assembly
of *Saint Germaine*, after many wayes disputed how to
pay that Kings debts, concludes this as the best: The
temporall liuings of the Church (sayth hee) are foure
millions of rent, yeerely: this sold, would amount to

The view of France.

one hundred and twentie millions. Of these, forty eight millions may be put in sure hands, to interest, for the Clergie, which would yeerely yeeld them their foure millions, *a denier douze*, at 8. and one third of eight in the hundred, as commonly they let in France. Then would remaine for the King seuentie two millions: wherewith forty two millions hee might pay his debts, and redeeme his Domayne and Finances morgaged: And with the thirtie that remayne, he might fortifie his frontiers, entertayne his Garrisons, encrease his *Ban* and *Arriurban*, and furnish himselfe with Shipping. It in those dayes, to wise a Counsellor, as was any in the land, could not deuise possibly how to pay the Kings debtes, without selling the Church lands, you may imagine it will be a hard matter, to deuise how to discharge them now, that they bee growne fīue times so great, as then they were. For all his Domayne is morgaged, as before is sayd, or at least the greater part, and (as *La Noue* sayth) that is engaged for 15. millions, which is worth 30.

La Noue.

His rents of his Aydes are also gone: for they are engaged to each Generallity in France, as of *Paris, Rouen, Caen, &c.* to the number of one & twenty of them, and each hath his portion therein: which would be too tedious to set downe in particular. His Offices are all sold, and many thousand erected, ouer and besides the ordinarie, and money also made of them. His poore people are already with these ciuill Warres so spoyled; and impouerished, as there is almost nothing to be had.

Recueil.

I see not therefore, but we should say of this King, as the *Recueil de l'estat de France* saith of the Duke of *Sa- uoy*, *Quant-à son argent, pour faire bonne chere en sa maison il y en*

7
The view of France.

il y en a assez, mais pour faire me si grande guerre, non: As touching his money, hee hath enough to make good cheere at home, but not to maintayne so great a warre. So hee, to make merry with his friends, in this merry time of peace, hath money enough: *mais pour payer une si grande somme, non:* But not to pay so great a summe of debtes.

It now remaineth to speake of his Entrade, or Reuenue: For a Prince cannot haue peace without war, *His* nor warre without men, nor men without money, nor *Reue-* money without meanes: nor are there any meanes but *nue.* these, viz. First, *Domaine*. Secondly, *Conquests*. Thirdly, *Dons des amys*. Fourthly, *Pension des allies*. Fifthly, *Traffique*. *Bodia. l. 6.* Sixthly, *Imposts sur les Marchandises, apportees ou emportes*. Seuently, *Imposts des Subiects*: First, *Domayne*. Secondly, *Conquests*. Thirdly, *Giftes of his friends*. Fourthly, *Pension of his Confederates*. Fifthly, *Traffike*. Sixthly, *Impositions vpon Marchandise, brought in, or carried out*. Seuently, *Impositions vpon his Subiects*. And yet one other, which the Kings of France haue lately inuented to helpe, when all other fayled, which is, Eightly, the sales of Offices, more dangerous and preiudiciall to the State, then any other.

Of these 8, meanes I wil giue you particular obseruations, and then conclude, what is generally holden to be the whole Reuenue of the Crowne of France, by all these meanes.

First, the Domayne is, as it were, the Dowre which *The* the State brings to the King her Husband, for her tuition, *Do-* on, defence, and maintenance: And therefore one saith, *maine.* *n'est au Roy ains à la Couronne*: Belongs not to the King, *Haill. l. 3.* but to the Crowne.

The view of France.

There are 2. sorts of Domaines, First, the rent which the King holds in his hands, of the Feifes given for service: Secondly, that which is vnited and incorporate to the Crowne. The rights of the Domaine are these: *Rents, Fifts, payments at alienations, tributes, peages, toll,* of whatsoeuer enters or comes out of Cities, woods, Forrests, and diuers other.

This is the most ancient and most lawfull ground and foundation of Finances: For yee shall obserue in *Livy li. 1.* *Livy*, that at the first there were in the territorie of *Rome*, onely eighteene thousand Acres of land, whereof one third was for the Church and sacrifices, another for the Resp. and the rest for particular men. This is also confirmed by *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, who liued with Master *Varro*, the true Register of the Romane antiquities, as *Bodin* calls him. A Citizen of *Rome* had but two Acres, but after the expulsion of *Tarquinius*, they had 7. apiece. This diuision among the *Romans*, was deriued from the *Egyptians*, who did diuide their whole land into *Diod li. 2.* three parts: One for the Church, another for the King, and the third for the Calafyres.

That is Domaine, which belongeth to the Crowne: First, either by Possession, time out of mind: Or secondly, by Reunion, for want of heires males, as the Appenages when they returne: Thirdly, or by Confusion, for want of such as can make iust claime, much like our concealed lands in England: Or lastly, by Confiscation of offenders inheritances.

*Comment.
de l'Etat.*

Of this last sort wee reade, that in the time of *Saint Lewes*, there were confisked to the Domaine, the Counties of *Drenx*, *Bray*, *Fortyonne*, and *Monstreuil*, *Languedocke*, *Guyenne*, *Aniowe*, *Alaine*, *Turraine*, *Auvergne*:
And

The view of France.

And after, in the time of *Philip*, the Duchy of *Alençon*, the Counties of *Perche*, *Perigord*, *Poitieu*, *La Marche Angoulesme*, & Marquisate of *Saluzzes*. But *Bodin* saith, most of this came to the Crowne by force: *La sieur de la Serre*: He saith, it came by way of exchange or purchase. But the Author of the *Comentarios*, of the estate of the Religion, and policie of France, is of the first opinion. Thus great was the Domayne in former times, that of it selfe, without oppressing the people with Impositions, it was sufficient to maintayne the State and greatness of the Kings of France, but it is now viterly wasted. *On sçait bien que le Domaine qui seul entretenoit la splendeur et le lustre de l'estat Royal, n'est tel qu'il estoit de temps du regne des roys Loys, 11. Ch. 8. et. Lo. 12. La continuation des guerres l'a faict engager en plusieurs mainz, en telle sorte qu'il faudroit plus de quinze ou seize millions des liures pour rachapter ce qui en vaut plus de cinquante millions*: Tis well knowne, that the Domayne, which alone maintained heretofore the beauty and lustre of the Royall Estate, is not now such, as it was in the raignes of King *Lewes 11. Charles 8. and Lewes 12.* The continuance of our warrs, hath caused it to be engaged in many hands, in such sort, that there is neede of more then fiteene or 16. thousand pound Sterling, to redeeme that which is worth aboute 5. millions of poundes. And *Bodin* saith, that almost all the Counties, Baronies, and Seigneuries of the Domayne, are aliened for the ninth or tenth part of that they be worth. Yee must obserue, that the lands of the Domayne are not alienable, but in two cases. 1. *Pour l'Apennage des freres.* 2. *Pour les guerres.* 1. For *Hail. l. 3.* the Apénage of the Kings brother. 2. For the warrs: & these must be cōfirmed by the Arrest of the Parliament.

Dern.
tronbl.

84.
The view of France.

For in all other cases, all Lawyers and Historiens of France agree, that it is inalienable, and many Arrests haue beene made of late yeeres to confirme it. I haue read, that the *Charta magna* of England saith, the Kings when they are crowned, take an othe, not to aliene it: so doe they heere in France. And there is no prescription of time, to make such sales or alienations good, but that they may bee recouered and repurchased, whensoever the Crowne is able.

*Plut. Cato
Cens.*

To this purpose *Plutarch* sayth well, *Men cannot prescribe against God, nor particulars against the Respublique.*

*Con-
quest.*

2. Concerning the second meanes of rayfing mony by Conquests, the present state of France can yeeld no example; it hath bene long on the losing hand: but ye shall read, that the Turke dayly, when hee conquereth a Prouince or Countrey, giues the Lands to such as shalserue him in the Warres, whom he sendeth thither as it were Colonies, to enioy eche one his portion of some foure and twenty Acres of our measure, or as o-ther reckon, thirty. He giues them also Wheat to seed their land, vpon condition to pay him halfe the fruits of the seuenth yeere, and halfe of the twelfth: and when the party dies, his goods goe to the Turke: so that the *parties casuelles*, casualties (as they heere call them) is a great reuenuue to him.

*Parties
Casuelles
in France,
is onely
sale of
Offices.*

So the Spanyard hath sent of his people into *Peru*, there to inhabit (much like this course the Turke takes) and from thence yerely receyueth to the value of two millions, that is, the fift of such Gold and siluer, and o-ther commodities, as are there found.

3. For the third meanes, it is now out of season: it

The view of France.

was vsed in that good olde world, when *ense menchoit sur le marche*: Men wiped their nose on their sleeue, (as the French man sayes:) for now Princes are so farre from giuing, as they hardly pay that they owe.

Of these gifts yee shall read in *Polibius*, *Florus*, and others: As of the King of Egypt, who sent to the Citie of Rome, when it was distressed by *Hanniball*, the summe of 400000. Crownes. And *Hieron* of Sicily sent them a Crowne of gold, of three hundred poundes weight. They of *Rhodes* had an olde ruinous Colosse fell downe, which stood hard by the Key, and in the fall brake three or foure Shippes: to repayre which losse, the King of Egypt sent them 1800000. Crownes in gold, besides a great quantity of siluer, and three thousand *myds* of wheate: *Hieron* sent them 60000. Crownes. So did *Ptolemey* send great gifts to them of *Ierusalem*: And ye shall reade of sixe kingdoms giuen to the Romanes, by testament: and the Dutchy of *Guelderland* giuen to the Duke of *Burgogne*, not much aboue an hundred yeeres since.

4 The fourth meanes also of Pension, which Princes haue vpon some consideration of their Allies, helpeth the French Kings Coleis nothing at all: for they rather giue then take: As for example, to diuers cantons of the *Swisses*, to whome at first they payd not aboue one hundred and twentie thousand *liures* yeerely: but for these fifty yeeres, they neuer pay lesse the yere, then two millions. For sayth *Commynes*, *Lewes* 11. entred league with the *Swisses*, and they into his Pension: to whom he yeerely gaue fortie thousand Flourins, whereof twentie to the Cities, and twentie to particular men, vpon condition to haue accrtayne proportion of their forces,

The view of France.

forces to serue him in his Warres vpon all occasions. An aduantageous alliance for the Swisse in my opinion, who by this meanes enrich themselves, cleare their Countrey of many idle and bad members, and lastly, breede good Souldiers, to serue themselves vpon need, at another mans cost. The *Turke* hath also a pension of

Bodin, li. 5 the *Emperour of Germany*, for certaine Lands he holdeth in *Hungarie*: which he notwithstanding vanteth to be a Tribute. Many examples might bee alleadged of this kinde, as of *Philip of Macedone*, that by pensions got all Greece partial on his side: and the Kings of *Persia* by pension, got euer the Forces of *Asia* diuerted.

*Plus, Ly-
sander.*

*Traf-
ficke.*

5 The sit, which is of Trafficke, auaieth nothing the French Kings: for they holde it heere a base and fordid kind of profession for a Gentleman, much more for a King, to trade by Marchandize. And by the Lawes of *England*, *France* and *Germany*, hee loseth the qualitie of a Nobleman, that doth trafficke. The Law *Clodia* forbad a *Romane* Senatour to trade, or haue Shippe of burthen, *Quæstus omnis patribus indecorus visus est*: The Senatours esteemed any kinde of trade or trafficke vnworthy of their ranke. And the *Emperours* Law forbad all Gentlemen and Churchmen to vse it.

Bodin, li. 6

Liuy, li. 21.

Notwithstanding these Lawes, and the disparagement that it brings to Nobilitie (for saith *Tully*, *Merces sordidum genus hominum*, Marchants are a base kinde of people) yet so sweete is the sauour of gaine, that many haue vsed this as no small meanes to encrease their Finances. The great Duke of *Tuscaine* present, gaires infinitely this way, and the more by his most vnlawfull and tyrannous Monopolies: for hee commonly buyeth vp all the graine of his owne Countrey,

at

50
The view of France.

at his owne price: yea, and that which commeth from other places also, and then sendeth out a *Bando* or Proclamation, that no man shall sell any Corne throughout his State, till his owne be solde, forcing also all Bakers and other people to buy thereof. This maner of engrossing *Alphonſus* of *Arragon* also vsed, by the testimonie of *Bodin*. The Kings of *Portugall* also, and the *Seignoria* of *Venice*, haue bene great traders by Marchandise, but it hath beene in an honeſter faſhion, at Sea, and not to the grinding of their poore Subiects. The Nobilitie also of *Italy*, in all Cities (except *Naples*) holde it no dishonour to trafficke in groſſe, as yee ſhall generally obſerue when yee come into that Countrey.

6 The ſixt meanes of raiſing money vpon all wares Impoſt and Marchandiſe, that come in & goe out of the Countrey, is the moſt ancient and beſt agreeing with reaſon, *Marchand* and vsed by all Princes in the world. The late troubles diſe. haue made the benefit hereof very ſmall to the Crowne of France, for theſe many yeeres paſt. The particulars comprized vnder this branch, are theſe: *Le haut paſſage*, *ou Domaine foraine*, and *La traicte foraine*: Cuſtomes inward, and outward: By theſe the Prince is to haue *Bodin, li. 8* Impoſt, *Cinq pour cent*, ſiue in the hundred: ſo much iuſt had the *Romanes*, Teſte *Cicerone in Pratura Sicilienſi*, As *Cicero* witneſſeth in his Pretorſhip of *Sicilia*. The *Turke* takes, *Dix pour cent*, Ten in the hundred of the ſtranger, and *cinq*, ſiue, of the Subiect: the *French* quite contrary. You muſt obſerue, that that which here I call the *Domaine foraine*, is generally called the *Aides*: firſt, graunted by the Eſtates to *Charles* Duke of *Normandie*, when *John* his Father was priſoner in *England*: which was the paiement of 12. *Deniers*, the *liure*, ſur toutes les marchandises *Hail. l. 3.*

The view of France.

et denrees qui seroyent vendues en ce royaume excepte sur le vin, le bled, le sel, et autres breuvages: mais depuis il s'est fait perpetuel et augmenté, par l'imposition du vin vendu en gros par tout, & en Normandie en detaille: Vpon all marchā lizes and wares which should be sold in this Kingdome, except vpon Wine, Corne, Salt, and all maner of drinke: but since it hath beene made perpetuall, and augmented by the imposition vpon Wine solde euery where, and in Normandie by retaille.

This is like the Gabel vpon all maner of foode, which the Princes take of their Subiects through *Italy*, or the Affise vpon bread and beere which the *States* haue in the Low countreyes: a grievance, whereof we smart not in England, as also we are free from many other burthens, which the people of these Countreies are forced to beare: and yet yee shall heare our people (therefore ignorant of their owne happinesse, which they enjoy vnder the blessed Gouvernement of our gracious Soueraigne, because they knew not the miseries of others) murmur and grudge at the payment of a Taxe or Subsidie, as a matter insupportable, which, in comparison of the impositions laide vpon others, is a matter of nothing.

Touching the Gabell of Salt (which is also comprised vnder this head) Some say it was first erected by *Philippe le Long*: Others by *Philip de Valois*, 1328. True it is, that the ordinance of *Francis* the first, 1541. sets downe an impost of twentie foure *Liures* vpon euery *Muy*: And in the yeere 1543. an ordinance was made for Gabell, to be taken vpon all Sea-fish salted. And in 1544. it was ordained, that all Salt should bee sold and distributed into the *Magazines*, or Storehouses of euery seuerall

91
The view of France.

seuerall generalitie. The benefit of this one commoditie, hath beene very commodious to the Crowne, till the yere eightie one, whē the King was forced for want of money to let it out to others: whereby he lost, as is in my Authour prooued, eight hundred thirtie six thousand Crownes yeerely. Here is also a kinde of taxe, called the *Equiuallent*, that is, an imposition laide vpon some persons and places (but not generally) to haue libertie to buy and sell Salt, and to be exempt from the *Magazines*. *Dern. Iron.*

The Impost of Wine is laide vpon all, without exception or exemption whatsoeuer, it is the twentieth part to the King: besides all other rights, as of Billots, entring into Cities, passages by land or ryuer, and such like: Besides, a later imposition of five *Sols* vpon every *Muy*, leuied by Charles the ninth 1561.

Concerning the (*Traicte foraine*) it is of like nature with the Aides, saue that it is leuiable vpon more particular sorts of Marchandise: besides, the Aides is an Impost vpon things spent in the Land: and the *Traicte foraine*, is of such commodities as are transported out: As of Wheate, Rie, Barley, Oates, Wine, Vineger, Veriuiice, Cidre, Beefes, Muttons, Veales, Lambes, Swine, Horses, Lard, Bacon, Tallow, Oyle, Cheese, Fish of all sortes, Drougs of all sortes, Mettals of all sortes, Silkes and clothes of all sortes, Leather of all sortes, and finally all other marchandise, as Fruites, Parchment, Paper, Glasse, Wood, Roopes, &c.

7 The seuenth ground or foundation of Finances, *Impositi-* is the *Imposition* vpon the Subiect: that is, not vpon the *on vpon* Wares or commodities, but vpon the persons them- *the Sub-* selues, according to their abilitie, and it is much like the *iect.*

The view of France.

leuying of the tax and subsidie in England, where every one payeth rateably to the lands and goods he possesseth. And therefore *Haillon* iudgeth well, to say, they be neither personall, nor reall, but mixt, *imposées au lieu du domicile, ayant esgard à tous les biens du taillable, en quelque part qu' ils soyent assis et posez*: Assessed in the place of their dwelling, according to all the goods of the partie assessed, in what part soeuer they lye or abide.

These (*tailles*) were first rayled by Saint *Lewes* (but by way of extraordinary Subsidie.) *Charles* the 7. made them ordinary for the maintenance of his *Gendarmerie*. And whereas at first they were neuer leuyed but by consent of the three States, and to endure but while the warre lasted, he made them perpetuall. Therefore saith *Haill. li. 3.* one, *Ce qu'estoit accordé par grace, est depuis venu patrimonial et hereditaire aux roys*: That which was at first yeelded of fauour, is become since patrimoniall and hereditarie to our Kings. (But this is a common course, I thinke there is no countrey in *Europe* but can giue instances therof.) There is yet to be obserued, that these *tailles* are onely lyable vpon the *Plat país* (the County) all Cities are exempt, as also all Officers of the Kings house, all Counsellors, Lawyers, and Officers of Courtes of Parliament, all the Nobilitie, the *Gensdarmes*, the Officers of warre, the Graduates of Vniuersities, &c.

The (*tailles*) is another imposition, raised by *Henrie*, 7. anno, 1549. which was to attend the wages of the *gensdarmes*, who by reason of the smalnesse of their pay, lay vpon the poore villages, and ate them vp; for the ease whereof this imposition was deuised, which also lyeth vpon the poore Countrey-man: whereby at first hee was somewhat eased; But now all is peruered; the
poore

The view of France.

poore is still oppressed, and yet he payeth still both *taille* and *tailion*.

Lastly, there is the *sold*, or pay of 50000. foote, which ye may remember were erected by *Lewes* the eleventh, in eight legions, sixe thousand to a legion, which with their Officers, come about this number. To maintaine these Legions, there was a taxe leuyed vpon all sortes of persons priuiledged in the (*taille*) but onely the Nobles. (There are also the *Decymes* (Tenthes) leuyed vpon the Church.) *Idem. li. 3* For the leuying of the *taille*, *tailion*, and *sold de* 50000. *gens a pied*, wages of 50000. foote. Ye must note, that the King sends his Letters Patentes by Commissioners, to the Treasurers of each Generalitie: these, according to the summe, rate each Election, (this is, as yee would say, a hundred in a shire, or a Bailiwyke) and then send to these Elections, to haue the said summe gathered in their seuerall Townes, and Hamlets, according as they be rated.

So do they to the *Maieures*, *Consuls*, *Echeuins*, and chiefe Officers of euery City, that are lyable to any of these payments, who rating euery man according to his abilitie, giue these Rolles to certayne Collectors to gather it vp: These are bound to bring it quarterly to the Receiuers. These carry it to the Receiuers generall, in the same *species* that they receiued it: and from them to haue an Acquittance, after the Accounts haue beene perused by the Controller generall.

And these are all the meanes, by which Princes rayse their Finances, whereof yee see some, nothing to pertayne to the French King, but to others; and some to him onely, not to others.

The view of France.

Sale of Offices 8 There yet remayneth one other meanes (though extraordinary) to a Prince, to get money, which the necessities of the times, and the want of other meanes, haue forced the French Kings of late yeeres to vse. This is the vent or sales of Offices, a very dangerous & hurtfull Marchandize, both for the Prince and subiect.

Bodin. l. 6. This Lesson (sayth *Bodin*) the French Kings first learned of the Popes, with whom it is still as familiar, as olde, to sell Bishopricks, liuings, & Ecclesiasticall promotions.

Dem. 17 sub. A course, saith one *de grāde consequence & tres-perilleuse, mais couuerte de necessite*: of great and dangerous consequence, but cloked with necessity. It is indeed thrice dangerous, because sales of offices cause sales of Iustice:

for what these Purchasers pay in grosse, they must needs get in retayle, forgetting what was sayd to *Sophocles*, the Gouvernour of *Athens*, *Il faut qu'un Gouverneur ait non seulement les mains nettes, mais les yeux aussi*: A Gouvernour must not onely haue his hands cleane, but his eyes also.

Plut. Peri. They cannot say, as *Pericles* did on his death-bed, *Que nul Athenien pour occasion de luy, n'auoit onc porte robe noire*: He had neuer made any Athenian weare mourning robe. For these, by selling Iustice, and robbing the poore of their right, giue the fatherlesse and oppressed Widdowe iust cause to complayne, and of wearing that mourning robe that *Plutarch* speakes of.

Haill. l. 5 Saint *Lewes*, among many other good Lawes, and reuocation of diuers impositions extraordinary, made also an Edict against the sale of Offices. And it is reported of *Alexander Seuerus*, that he should say when one offered a peece of money for a certayne Office, *Non patiar mercatores potestatum*: I will suffer none to

Spartian. traffique Offices. Therefore sayth the Athenian Orator

The view of France.

to Timarchus, That the lines, not the Purfes of them that
 stood for Offices, were to be looked into. And yee shall reade Demosthenes
 in Plutarch, that he which anciently stood for an Office ⁱⁿ *Rome*,
 was to shew himselfe certaine dayes before the
 Election, in the *Forum* or open streetes, appaelled
 in a thinne Robe; that through the same, the people
 might see the wounds he had had in the Warres for his
 Countries service, and thereafter as he had deserued,
 to choose him. And lest any man should by briberie,
 corruption, or any such indirect and vnlawfull way,
 seeke to get any Office or Authoritie, these olde Ro-
 mans made many good and wholesome Lawes, against
 such maner of proceedings (which they called *Ambi-
 tus*) i. an Ambitious seeking of preferment. This the
Lex Petilia forbad: The *Lex Calphurnia* declared them
 that were detected of any such course, to be vncapable
 of that Office for euer. And the *Lex Tullia* banished
 them that were conuined (*Ambitus*) for ten yeeres:
 so hatefull were such purchases in those dayes.

Plu. Cori.

Bodin. li. 5

Cicer. pro

Muran.

And in the time of Ferdinand, they had the like law
 in Spaine, against the buying of any Office, whether of
 Warre or Iustice: *Que use quedam vender ny trocar, of-
 ficios de Alcaldid, ny Alguaziladgo, ny Regimiento, ny
 vientes quatria, ny fid executoria, ny iuraderia.*

Turquet.

hist. Sp.

Thus you may obserue, how hurtfull soeuer it be to
 Common-wealths, and how much so euer forbidden,
 yet that necessitie oftentimes forceth Princes, to that
 which is most losse to themselves. *La pauureté quelques
 fois contraint le Roy de casser bonnes loix pour subuenir à ses
 affaires: et depuis qu'une fois on a fait ceste ouuerture il est
 presqu' impossible d'y remedier: Pouertie sometimes con-*

The view of France.

straineth the King to breake good Lawes, to helpe his affaires, and when once this hole is made in the Lawes, it is almost impossible to keepe it.

It is a strangething to consider, and incredible to beleeue, what infinite masses of money haue bene made heere in *France* by these sales, where there is not that Collectedor, Cōtroller, Treasurer, Sergeant, or subalterne Office whatsoeuer, but he hath bought it of the Prince, and at no small rate: for I haue heard it credibly reported, and yee shall reade also in late writers, that these Offices are bought in *France* at a dearer rate then our Lands in *England* of twentie yeeres purchase. Yee must obserue they haue them for terme of life, and after, to returne to the King who is againe to sell them. A man in his sicknes, or in danger of death, or vpon any neede whatsoeuer, may sell this his Office, or resigne it to his Sonne or friend whatsoeuer: which sale is good, if the party liue fortie daies after the sale or resignation is confirmed, otherwise not. Now we are to consider, what Entrade or Reuenew, the French King yeerely maketh by any or all of the meanes abouesaid.

The estate of the Finances, Domaine, and al in *Charles Bodin. l. 6.* the sixt time, Anno 1449. was but 1400000. *Livres.* Henry the second, leuoit sur son peuple par voye ordinaire *La Nouë.* quinze millions des francs tous les ans: dont quelque partie a depuis esté engagée pour les dettes: Non obstant lesquelles nostre Roy en tira auant aujour d'uy: rayfed vpon his people by way of ordinarie Reuenew, fifteene thousand pound sterling a yeere: whereof some part hath since bene aliened for the debts of the Crowne, which notwithstanding the King rayseth as much now.

But

The view of France.

But yee may obserue, that this summe is of late yeres growne much greater, (by two thirds) as is generally beleueed: for whereas in those dayes, some three or fourescore yeeres, since the ordinarie summe was fiftene millions of *Francs* or *Liures*, it is now so many of Crownes. And *Monsieur Riuault*, Treasurer to the Duke of *Mayenne*, shamed not some eight yeres since to say, that his Master had improved the Realme of France to a better rent, then any Prince had done before times: For saith he, *An lieu qu'il ne valloit que dix huit ou vingt millions, il en vaut aujourdhuy cinquante*: Whereas it was woorth but eightene or twentie thousand pound sterling, it is now woorth fife millions sterling.

And another saith, that onely by the sales of Offices in twentie yeeres space, *Le Roy en a tire cent trent et neuf millions*: The King hath raysed one hundred thirtie and nine millions, which is alter the rate of seuen millions the yeere. So that it is probably to be inferred, that the Reuenewes are at lest fiftene millions of Crownes; wherein all late writers agree: Neither must we thinke, that men are mistaken, by counting Crownes for *Liures* (considering that *Bodin*, and *La Nouë*, and most elder writers speake onely of *Liures*, not of Crownes.) For the maner of Accompt of France, is by especiall ordinance commaunded to bee made by Crownes, and that of *Liures* to cease: So that whensoever yee reade in the Stories of France, of any summe of thousands, millions, or such like, without naming either *frances* or Crownes: you are to respect the times when it was written: for if it was aboute twentie yeeres past, they meane *Liures* or *Francs*: if of latter yeres then twentie, it is alwayes to be

The view of France.

vnderstoode they speake of Crownes; this rule will not faile you.

Hauiug briefly spoken of his *Entrade*, and sufficiently of the meanes by which he raiseth it, as especially by the last, which is not the least: namely, the sales of Offices, which are now bestowed, not vpon them which can execute them best, but such as can giue the most; of whome we may say, as *Commines* of them of his
Commines. time, presently after the Battell of *Montlherry*, *Tel perdoit ses offices et estats pour s'en estre fuy, et furent donnees à autres qui auoyent fuy dix lieues plus loing*: Some lost their Offices and estates for running away, the which were bestowed vpon others, that ranne ten leagues further; So these Offices were taken from them that pilld the people much, and bestowed vpon others that pill them ten times more.

Officers of his Finances. Hauiug, I say, spoken sufficiently of these, it remaineth I keepe the same course I haue done hitherto: that is, after the relation of the Court, to reckon vp the Officers of Court, and after the discourse of his Forces, to speake of his Officers of warre; So here likewise after mention made of his Finances and Reuenues, to remember his Financers and Officers, vsed for the Collection, keeping and disposing of the same. Of which officers, we may say, as the Philosopher sayes of wiues, that they be *Mala necessaria*: Necessarie euils, And as he saith of them, The lesse of euils is the best; so say we of these, The fewer the better. But when wee reade, that the olde *Romanes* had of these but one in a Prouince, you shall obserue heere in some Prouince not so fewe as one thousand.

The

The view of France.

The chiefe of these is the *Treasurer d'Espargne*, of the *Treasure*. Exchequer, instituted in *Francis* the first his time, in *rer d'Es-* place of the Receyuer generall. There is also another *pargne*. *Treasurer of the parties casuelles*, Casualties. The third *Treas. de* sort are the Treasurers *generaux des Finances*, whom also *parties* they call Treasurers of France; (for as for the Treasurers *casuelles*. ordinary and extraordinary of the *Waires*, we haue al- *Treas.* ready spoke of them in the relation of his forces, and *generaux*. of the *Treasurer de menus plaisirs*, of his petty pleasures, *Treas. de* when we spoke of his Court.) The number of these *menus pl.* Treasurers generall, as also of all other Officers of Finances, ye may partly conceue by the number of Generalities which are in France, and the seuerall Offices of eche one of these.

Of these Generalities are twenty & one in all France, *Generalis-* *Paris, Rouen, Caen, Nantes, Tournes, Burges, Poictiers, Agen, ties.* *Tholouse, Montpellier, Aix, Grenoble, Lion, Ryon, Dyon, Cha-* *alons, Amyens, Orleans, Soissons, Lymoges, Moulin.*

In eche of these Generalities are diuers Elections, *Elections* that is, diuers places for the Receipt of the Finances: As in that of *Orleans* are eleuen Elections, in the rest some more, and some lesse, to the number of 170. in al.

In euery Generality are ten Treasurers; three Recei- *Receivers.* uers generall of the Finances; three Receyuers generall of the *Taillon*; one Receiuer generall of the *Dismes*; two Receyuers generall of the Woods: And for euery Receiuer, so many Controlers generall: two Treasurers *Contro-* generall of the extraordinary of the Warre, for *lers.* the payment of Garrisons and Souldiers in time of Warre.

Besides all these generall Officers, there are also in eche particular Election, three Receyuers of the *Taille*,

The view of France.

three of the Aides, two of the *Taillon*, & as many Controllers, besides all other inferior Officers. If then there be thus many in one Election onely, ye may iudge the infinite number in all France, vpon which they lye, as thicke as the Grasshoppers in *Egypt*.

*Chamber
of Ac-
counts,*

I must here also remember the Chamber of Accounts, the chiefe Court of the Finances: wherein are foure Presidents, twelue Masters, eightene Auditors, foure Correctors, one Procuror generall, one aduocate, one greffier, sixe huissiers, or Sergeants, and other inferior Officers, to the number (as *Bodin* sayth) of two hundred, besides seruants (and it is likely, the number is not lessened since his time.)

Bodin. l. 5,

In conclusion, the Officers here, and of other places, are so exceeding many, as a President of this Court shewed the Estates of France, in the assembly at *Blois*, that of the *Escu*, sixe shillings; which was paid by the Subiect, there came but a *teston*, 1. shilling 8. pence to the Kings Coffers.

Many motions haue beene made, from time to time, for the redresse hereof, but the faction of Financers is so strong, and the summe so huge, which the King owes them, that it is remediless.

*Court of
Aides.
Haill. l. 4*

The Court of Aides also is as full of Offices, as that other. These Finances (saith one) *ont esté bronillées, altérées, changées, et reduictes en art si obscure, que peu de gens y entendent, ou peuuent y entendre, s'ils ne sont nourrys en la Caballe, de ceux qui l'ont obscurcie*: haue bene so shuffled, altered, changed, and reduced into so obscure an Arte, that very few either do, or can vnderstand it, except they haue bene brought vp in their Cabale that haue obscured it. No maruell therefore, though there bee much difference

The view of France.

difference among men, about the certayntie thereof, either for the truth of the summe, or number of the Officers.

Howbeit, hauing now wound my selfe out of the laborious Laborinth thereof, directed by the clew of the best writers, and most iudicious Informers, that as yet I could meete withall, I will proceede to relate of the rest, and first of the Kings Coyne, for that ye know these Financers are neuer without money: and next that, I will remember the Administration of Iustice, and so by consequent speake of the Courts, Iudges, Lawyers, and such like, who, of all people in the world, hunt after it with greatest greedinesse.

The Coynes of France, are either of Gold, Siluer, or Brasse. In those of Gold I must be better instructed my selfe, for I know not but the Crowne, which is of three or foure sorts, whereof that of the Sunne is the best, and the halfe Crowne. Those of Siluer are these, the *Liure* or *Franc*, which is 2. shillings sterling: The *quart d'escu*, which is 1. shilling, 6 pence. The *Teston*, which is halfe a *soubs* lesse: The peece of tenne *soubs*, which is 1. shilling sterling: the halfe *quart d'escu*, the halfe *teston*, and the peece of five *soubs*, that is sixe pence sterling. Those of Brasse, is the peece of sixe Blanks, which is three pence: that of three blankes, three halfe pence. The *soubs* of 12. *deniers*: the *liard* of foure *deniers*, the *double*, of two: and lastly, the *denier* it selfe, whereof tenne make 1. peny sterling. This baser and smaller kinde of money, hath not bene vsed in France, but since the beginning of the ciuill warres. The *Teston* is the best siluer. It is a general and a true complaint, that the Coyne is much lesse in France, then it hath bene, and that there is the better

His
Coyne.

The view of France.

halfe of French Crownes gone out of the land within these twenty yeres: whereof is no maruell, considering that merchandise hath almost lien dead, the Countrey vnfruitfull, because vttilled, and many troupes of forrayne Soldiers, especially of Swisses and Reisters, heere all the while payd.

Howsoever it decrease in France, true it is that *Bodin* sayth, that it increaseth generally in all these West countries of the world; as also that they haue lesse and lesse in the East parts: For so he reporteth out of *Strabo*, that in former times the Kings of Egypt rayled ycerely vpon their people seuen millions and a halfe. And *Plutarch* sayth, that *Scylla* taxed *Asia minor* at twelue millions of Crownes, which is little more then the sixt part of that the Turke holds, who notwithstanding at this present rayleth not about so much in all his dominions, But in these Countries, as yce see by this Realme of France, the Reuenues still grow greater and greater: of this the abundance of money is no little cause: So is it also the cause, that the prices of all wares are growne, not that things are now more scarce, or people more plentifull, which some will needs perswade themselves to beleue.

Bodin, li. 6 And therefore one reasons well, that sayth, The Reuenue of *Charles* the sixt, which was but fourteene hundred thousand *Francks*, was as sufficient to mayntayne the greatnesse of a French King, as that of *Charles* the ninth, which was fiftene millions, considering the price of all things, and pension of Officers enhaunced: And so by consequent, the ransome of the Sultane of Egypt, of five hundred thousand *Livres*, which hee payd the Turke, not much lesse then the three millions of

The view of France.

of Crownes, which *Francis* the first paide to *Charles* the sixt.

It remaineth I speake of of the *Administration* and *Execution of Iustice*, and of those places and persons where and by whome it is done: I will therefore begin with their Assemblies, as the highest and greatest Court of all, which well resembleth the *Parliament* of *England*, the *Diet* of the *Empire*, or the *Counsell* of the *Amphytrions* in *Greece*. We may say of these Assemblies of France, where matters are concluded by the multiplicitie of voyces, not by the poyze of reason, as was said of the *Romane* elections, where the *Consull* propounded, and the people approoued by suffrage, or disprooued: or as the Philosopher *Anacharsis* said of *Solons* Commonwealth; *Es consultations et deliberations des Grecs, les sages proposent les matieres, et les fols les decident*: In the consultations and deliberations of the *Greekes*, wise men propound the matters, and fooles decide them.

There are three especiall causes of calling these Assemblies. The first, *Quand la succession à la Couronne estoit douteuse et controuersée, ou qu'il estoit nécessaire de pourvoir à la Regence, durant la captivité ou minorité des Roys, ou quand ils estoient preclus de l'usage de leur entendement*: When the succession of the Crowne was doubtful and in controuersie, or when it was to take order for the Regencie during the Kings captiuitie or minoritie, or when they had not the right vse of their wits. Hereof ye haue examples, Anno 1327. *S. Lewes* an infant; and *Charles* the sixt, Anno 1380. lunaticke: and 1484. *Solm* prisoner. For all which occasions, Assemblies were called, to determine who should haue the Regencie of the Realme in the meane while.

The view of France.

Ibid.

The second cause is, *Quand il est question de reformer le Royaume, corriger les abus des Officers, et Magistrats, ou appaiser les troubles et seditions*: When there is question of reforming the kingdome, correcting the abuses of Officers and Magistrates, or appeasing troubles and seditions: Hereof ye haue examples, 1412. when a peace was made between the Infants of Orleans & Burgundy, whose houses had long warred one with another, and distracted all the Nobilitie of France, to their parts taking. Also anno, 1560. when Frances the second called an assembly at Orleans, for the different of Religion: where the Prince of Condie was arrested, and condemned of treason, and where this young King died, before hee could see the execution. And anno, 1587. an assembly called at Blois, for the reformation of the State, & punishment of diuers abuses in Magistrates (as the Duke of Guise pretended) and for the deposing of the King, as some thought that he intended: others say, that he had here plotted to kill the King, and that the King had but the start of the Duke one day: for if he had deferred the death of the Guise till the next day, the lot had fallen vpon him selfe. There is a very iudicious late writer, who discourseth of this assembly at Blois, where the three Estates excepted against the Kings ill Government, complayneth, that of late they are growne too insolent in their demaunds. Ye shall read in our Histories of such a like Parliament as this, in England, called by Henry of Derby, against Richard the second.

Mr. du Fay.

Hollinshed.

Der. ar. 16

The third cause is, *la necessité du Roy ou royaume, où l'on exhortoit aux subsides, subuentions, aides, et octrois*: The want and necessity of the King or kingdome, in which case the Estates are exhorted to giue Subsidies, subuenti-
ons,

38

The view of France.

ons, aides, and gratuities. For in former times, the Kings contenting themselves with their Domaine, and imposition of such wares, as came in, or went out of the land, (the two most ancient, and most iust grounds of Finances) were not accustomed to levy and impose upon their Subjects any tax whatsoever, without the consent of the three States, thus assembled. They did not say, as of later yeeres *Lewis* the eleuenth was wont, *Que la France estoit un pré qui se tondoit trois-fois l'année*: That France was a Meddowe, which hee mowed thrice a yeere. La Nouë

The next Soueraigne Court (for so the French call it) is the Court of Parliament, *le vray temple de la Justice* Parliam. *Françoise: Seige du Roy et de ses Paires*: The true temple of French Justice: Seate of the King and his Peeres: And ments. as *Haillan* calles it, *L'archeboutan des droicts*: the Buttresse of equitie. This Court very much resembleth the Star-Chamber of England, the *Arcopage* of *Athens*, the Senate of *Rome*, the *Consiglio de' dieci* of *Venice*. Com. de l'estat. Haill. li. 4.

There are no lawes (saith *Haillan*) by which this Court is directed: it iudgeth *secundum aquum et bonū*, according to equitie and conscience, and mitigateth the rigour of the Law: *Les noms des Parlements sont appliquez aux compagnies de Cours Souveraignes, qui connoissent en dernier ressort de matieres de justice*: The names of Parliaments are giuen to the bodies of Soueraigne Courtes, which determine without appeale, in matters of Justice. Comm. c. 4.

Of these Courts of Parliament, ye have eight in France. That of *Paris*, the most ancient & highest in pre-eminence, which at first was ambulatory (as they call it) & euer followed the K. Court, whither soeuer it wēt: but

The view of France.

since *Philip le bel*, it hath beene sedentary in this Citie.
Haill. li. 3. That of *Grenoble* was erected, anno, 1453. That of *Toulouse*, anno, 1302. That of *Bordeaux*, anno, 1443. That of *Dijon*, in the yeere 1476. That of *Rouen*, in the yeere 1501. That of *Aix*, the same yeere. And lastly, that of *Bretaigne*, in the yeere 1553. Anciently all Arch-Bishops, and Bishops might sit and giue voyces in this Parliament of *Paris*: but in 1463, it was decreed, that none but the Bishop of *Paris*, and Abbot of *Saint Denis* might sit there, except he be of the Bloud: for all these are priuiledged.

1. Cic. 3. de legib. The Presidents and Councillors of the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, may not depart the Towne, without leaue of the Court, by the ordinance of *Leues* 12, in the yeere 1499. *Senatores semper adesse debent, quod grauitatem res habet, cum frequens est ordo*: The Senators ought alwayes to be present, because things are carried with more maiestie, when that Court is full.

To this Parliament, they appeale from all other subalterne Courts throughout the Realme, as they doe in *Venice* to the *Consiglio grande*. Neither can the King conclude any warre, or peace, without the aduice and consent hereof: or at least (as *Haillan* sayth) hee demaundeth it for fashion sake, sometimes when the matters are already concluded.

Haill. l. 3. The Parliament of *Paris* consists of seuen Chambers: the *Grande chambre*, and five others of Enquests: and the *Tournelles*, which is the Chamber for the criminall causes, as the other fixe be for the ciuill. It is called the *Tournelles*, because the Iudges of the other Chambers sit there by turnes, euery three moneths: *Bodin. l. 4.* the reason whereof *Bodin* giues, that it might not alter the

The view of France.

the naturall inclination of the Iudges, and make them more cruell, by being alwayes exercised in matter of condemnations, and executions. There bee of this Court, of Presidents, Councillors, Cheualliers of honour, Procureurs, Aduocates, Clerkes, Sergeants, and other Officers of all sortes, not so few as two hundred.

Besides this Court, there are also other Courtes for the administration of Iustice, in this Citie, as the *Chatel- Courts of
lles of Paris*, with a Lieutenant ciuill, and another criminal, and the *Hostel de Paris*, with a Preuost, and other inferior Officers, which is, as ye would say, the Guild Hall of the Citie. So haue ye throughout the Realme certayne places, (as all Cities ingenerall) where there be *Chatellies* (like our places of Assise) and in them a Lieutenant, ciuill and criminal, to iudge and determine all causes, reall, or personall, and here many Lawyers and Procurers (as are our Councillors at law, & Attornies) who pleade before these Lieutenants, and Preuosts, and certaine Councillors, which are the Iudges in these Courts, whereof the number is incredible in France. Infomuch as ye may well say of them, as is said of *Sienna*, *There be more readers, then auditors: so here be more Pleaders than Clients*. This *Chiquanerie* (pettifogging) & multiplicitie of pleaders, came first from the Popes Court, when his Seate was at *Auignon* (as my Author saith) who in the same place calles these Aduocates, *les Sourris de Palais*: The Mice of the Palace. These are they that *Rablais* (the true *Lucian* of France) calles *Doriphages*. i. deuourers of bribes: whose badnesse he scoffingly taxeth, where he saith, that the diuell was not chayned, till such time as he did eate fasting one morning, the soule of one of the Officers of these Courts; whereupō he was so vexed with

Haill. J. 3.

The view of France.

the Collicke (saith he) finding a worse deuill then himselfe rumbling in his belly, as there was no stirre with the colliericke Marchant, till he was bound.

The processses and sutes in these Courts throughout France, are innumerable, wherein wee come nothing neere them; and yet there is no want of these in England: for I haue heard of 340. *Nisi prius* betweene parties tryed at one Assise in Noiff. (as many I thinke, as in halfe England besides.) But these are only twice in the yeere, that causes are tried at Assizes in our Countrey, whereas heere they are tried euery day in the yere, that is not festiuall: So that it is not much vnlkely, that here are as many Processees in seuen yerres, as hane beene in England since the Conquest.

Ordon.
Henry the
second.
1548.

An Aduocate must vse no iniurious words, nor superfluous; he must plead briefly, and recite summarily: hee may bee compelled by the Iudge to plead a poore mans cause without fee: Hee must be a Graduate, and haue taken the othe: He may not buy the lands in question of one of the parties; and besides many other inhibitions, he may not enter the *Pladoye sans faire collation*: the pleading place, till he haue broken his fast: which in my opinion is needlesse, they are forward enough.

Courts of
Bayli-
wicks and
Sheriffal-
ties.

There are besides these Courts of *Chatelless* in Cities, the Courts also of the *Buillages & Senechauses*; wicks and that is, of Bayliwicks and Sherifalties, who, as *Haillan* saith, keepe Courts in eche Prouince, and iudge in all matters ciuill and criminall.

Haill. li. 3
Court of
Eau's &
Forrests

There is also the Court of the *Eau's et Forests*, kept at the Table of Marble in the Palaice, and infinit others, which to speake particularly of, would be very tedious, and not very necessary. I will here onely remember you

of

The view of France.

of the two Counsels, which I must confesse, not to haue their due place: for I should haue spoken of them next after the Court of Parliament, or if ye will, next after the Assemblie.

The chiefe of these, as being alwayes about the King, is the *Conseil priué*, or *des affaires*: Priuy Councill, or Councill of affaires: of these Counsellors (among which are his foure Secretaries) he calleth certaine euery morning at his rising, to whome he communicates apart his principal and most importing affaires, where are read all letters which come from other Princes, and such like publike businesse, & after a conclusiō what is to be done, the dispatch thereof is committed to the Secretaries.

The other, is the *Grand Conseil*, or *Conseil d'Estat*: Great Councill, or Councill of Estate: which at first was, as it were, a member of the Parliament, & consisted of the Princes of the Bloud, & Nobility, hauing only to deale in the matters of the policy general of France, or of wars, or of the enacting & publishing of Edicts. But the factiō of *Orleans* & *Burgundy*, caused it to be changed to a choyse nūber of Counsellors, prouisioned of 1000. crownes pension apeece yerely. Of this Counsel the Chancell'or is chief, for neither the King himself, nor any Prince of the Bloud comes there. This is the Court, of which the Frenchman saith, euery time it is holden, it costs the K. 1000. crownes a day. And now, saith *Haillan*, hee cannot keep the so cheape, so infinite is the nūber of the grown. Where he also cōplaines, that this *Conseil d'Estat*, which was wont only to determine publike affaires, as the establishment of Iustice, the Reglemēt of Finances, & redressing of cōmon gricuañces, is now so charged with private contentions, as the glory thereof is much diminished.

The view of France.

Officers Ye shall now note in a word, the Officers that execute and administer Iustice through France, wherein I will not be precise to name all, but according to the superficial course before taken, onely to remember the chiefest.

for th' execution of Iustice: The Chancellor, anciently serued as a Secretary, and besides the
ower and so were called in the olde Chartes of France, where he
besides the is likewise called the *grand Referendaire*. The Secretary
Liente- doeth signe, and the Chancellor doeth seale. Some deriue this word of (*cancellare*) which *Haillan* reprooueth:
nais, Pre- others of *cancellus*. Cuias vpon the *Code* sayth, they be
most-Mar- the samethat *Questores* were in time of the Empire at
shals, Pre- Rome. Therefore he is sometime called *Questor Iustitie*,
sidents, & *legum custos*: *Thesaurus fama publica*, & *armarium le-*
Concellers, gum: The Iudge of Iustice, and Keeper of the Lawes,
Aaron the Treasurer of publike fame, and Store-houise of the
cats, &c Lawes.
aboue na-
med,

Chancel-
lor.

Haill li. 4.

Mon. Ra-
gueau.

Secretary
Procopius,

Secretary is the next Office, who at first were called Clerkes. Some old Writers call them *Ton aporetton* *Grammatest*. *Suetonius* calles them *Ab Epistolis* or *Emanenfes*. They are cyther of the Finances (which haue their place among the Officers of the Finances, before remembred) or of *Affaires*, which we here speake of: Of these are foure, which are called the principall, *Monsieur Villeroy*, *Monsieur Genure*, *Monsieur de Fresne*, and *Monsieur de Beaulieu*.

Gouernor
and Lieu-
tenant.

Gouernours and Lieutenants generall of Cities and Prouinces, are as it were Viceroyes & Regents of those places committed to them: & indeed the persons sustaining these charges, are much more Noble then those of the Secretaries, as being for the most part conferrd vpon the Princes of the Bloud and Peeres of France.

The

The view of France.

The Gouvernours of Cities were in old time called Dukes, and they of Prouinces, Counts. They were at first onely in frontier Prouinces, but now since the troubles of France, they haue had the commaund ouer Cities and Countries, euen in the middest and bowels of the Land: So that now, saith *Haillan*, France is become *Haill. b. 3.* *Frontiere de tous costez à elle mesme*, A Frontier to it selfe on euery side.

There are but few Cities, whereof anciently there were Gouvernours, as *Rochell*, *Calais*, *Peronne*, *Bologne*, *Mondidier*, *Narbonne*, *Bayonne*, and two or three others: Others that had keeping of some small Castle or Fort, was onely called the Keeper, or Captayne at most. But now, sayth *Haillan*, *lib. 4.* euery paltry fellow that hath *Haill. b. 4.* the keeping of a *Colombier*, Pigeon-house, must forsooth be called *Monsieur le Gouverneur*, My Lord the Gouvernour; and my mistresse his wife, *Madame la Gouvernante*, My Lady the Gouvernesse.

The Gouvernor of *Daulphenie* hath greatest priuiledges: for he giueth all Offices in his Prouince; in other places they can giue none, except they haue it by expresse words in their Patent. The Gouvernor may not be absent aboue sixe moneths in a yere; but the Lieutenant must neuer be absent, without leaue of the Prince, except the Gouvernour be present.

There is yet an Office, whereof I must remember you, which is one of the chiefeft in France, either for honouor or profit, called *grand Maistre des Eaux & For- Maister of*
rests. All matters concerning the Kings Chates, *For- the Eaux*
rests, Woods and Waters whatsoever, are determined *and For-*
by him, by the *grand M. Enquesteur*, and by the *Reforma- rests.*
teur, at the Table of Marble: vnder him are infinite

The view of France.

sortes of Officers, as *Les Maistres particuliers de chaque for-
rest, leurs Lieutenants: les grayers, les grayers, segrayers, maistres
des gardes, maistres sergents, gardes des marceaux, procureurs,
greffiers, arpenteurs, collekteurs des amendes*, and diuers o-
thers: As the particular Masters of each Forrest, their
Lieutenants, Ouerseers of the sale of woods, and the o-
ther Officers here specified.

But I will not loade this short Relation, with recko-
ning vp all the diuers and infinite sortes of Officers,
wherewith France her selfe seemeth to be ouerloaden,
as partly yee haue heard already: and yee shall reade in
Bodin, how he complains, not onely of the multiplicitee
of Offices in generall, but also, that euen the Countsell
of Estate is surcharged with number: where you may
likewise obserue, how he approues the Priuie Counsel
of England erected some foure hundred and odde
Bodin. l. 3. yeeeres since, where are neuer, saith he, aboue twentie,
*by whose sage direction the Land hath long flourished, en armes
et loix*: In armes and lawes. And for the execution of
Lawes, and administration of Iustice, yee may remem-
ber what hath bene said before, that the Lawes are
good and iust, but they benot, *inslement exercez*, iustly
Haill. l. 2. executed. Where *Haillan* comparing the times, *Alors*
(saith he) *on punissoit les grands: depuis on n'a puny que les
petits, et les grands demeurent impunis*, Then great ones
were punished, but since, onely petty fellows, and the
great ones goe scot-free. So that now, the Lawes of
Plut. Solon France are become like Spiders webbes, which onely
catch the little Flies, and the great ones breake thro-
rowe,

Inueni.

Dat veniam Coruis, vexat censura Columbas.

Then-

The view of France.

Th'ensnaring Lawes let Crowes goe free,
While simple Doues entangled bee.

Having now related of the *Topographie* and *Policy* of France, it remayneth I speake somewhat of the *Oeconomy*, that is, of the people of France, comprised vnder the three Estates, of the Clergy, the Nobility, and Communalty: of the seuerall humour, profession, and fashion of each of them, which is the third and last branch of this Relation.

The Church Gallicane, is holden the best privileged of all those of Christendome, that haue not yet quit their subiection to the *Pope*. It hath alwayes protested against the Inquisition; it is more free from payments to the *Pope*, then the Church of Spaine, as also to the King: for here in France they onely pay the *Dismes*; but in Spaine, the King hath his *Tercias*, *subsidio*, *pi-* *His*
la, and *Escusado*: in all, a moytie of the Church living. *Clergie*
insulam.
Indeeðe it is reported of this Catholike King, that hee hath founded many Abbies and Religious houses: but what saith his Subiect? *Hee steales the sheepe, and gues the Trouters for Gods sake.*

In this Church of France are twelue Archbishoppricks, one hundred and foure Bishoppricks, five hundred and fortie Archpories, one thousand foure hundred and fiftie Abbies: twelue thousand three hundred and twentie Priories, five hundred sixtie seven Nunneries, one hundred and thirtie thousand Parish Priests, seuen hundred conuents of Friers, and two hundred fiftienine Cômendams of the order of the Knights of *Malta*. There are, saith the (*Cabinet du Roy*) three millions of people that liue vpon the Church of France: *Cabinet au Roy.*
where hee particularly setteth downe in each Dioecesse,

The view of France.

the number of all sortes of Religious people, as also the number of their Whores, Bawds, Bastards, and seruants of all sortes: And why not? (sayth hee) as well as the Magicians vndertake in their Inuentory of the Diabolique Monarchy, to set downe the names and surnames of 75. Princes, and seuen millions, foure hundred and fife thousand, nine hundred, twenty and sixe diuels?

*The temporall li-
uings of
the
Church.*

The Church hath, for all this rabble, to liue vpon, these two things: First, her temporall Reuenues, and secondly, her Spirituall, which they call the *baise-mani*. Of her temporall Reuenues, diuers men iudge diuersly.

The *Cabinet*, who in all his computations makes of a Mouse, an Elephant, saith, that they are fourescore millions of Crownes the yeere, besides the *baise-mani*, which is as much more, and besides an infinite prouision which they reserue, and is paid them ouer and except their Rents, by their Farmers and Tenants; as of Wheat, foure millions, fife hundred thousand *septiers*, quarters: of Rye, two millions, three hundred thousand *septiers*, quarters: of Oates, nine hundred thousand: of Barly, eight hundred thousand: of Pease and Beanes, eight hundred sixty thousand: Capons, one hundred sixty thousand: Hennes, fife hundred sixty thousand: Partridge, fife hundred thousand: Beeues, twelue thousand: Muttons, one million two hundred thousand: Wine, one million two hundred thousand *cannes*: Egges, seuen millions: Butter, two hundred thirty thousand *quintaux*: Cheese, fife hundred thousand: Hogges, one hundred thirty sixe thousand: Pigges, three hundred forty thousand: Tallowe, sixty thousand *quintaux*: Hey, sixe hundred thousand loades: Straw,

The view of France.

Straw, eight hundred thousand: Wood, two millions; with an infinite proportion of other necessities, imaginary onely, and incredible. And yet he there avoweth all things, with as great confidence, as if himselfe had had the true abstract from all the Bookes of Accounts in each Monastery and Benefice in this land. For how is it possible the Church should haue two hundred millions of Crownes yeerely rent, when as by the computation, here are but iust so many Arpens of land in all France: which to rate one with another, at a crowne an Arpen, comes to this account, which hee allowes the Clergy, and then is there nothing left for the other two States, of the Nobilitie and people?

But in as much as the better halfe of their Reuenue is by the *basfe-mani*, there remaineth the better halfe of the land to the other two States: which notwithstanding is a proportion small ynough.

Neere vnto this reckoning, commeth that which we reade in *Bodin*, of *Aleman*, a president of accounts in *Paris*, whose iudgement must carry good authority in this case, as a thing belonging to his profession, and wherein he was best experienced: The Church Reuenues in land, are reckoned ordinarily, at twelue millions and three hundred thousand *liures*: but I dare iustifie (saith hee) that of twelue partes of the Reuenues of France, the Church possesse seuen.

This opinion *Bodin* seemes to allowe: But it is rather thought to be true, that the *Comment de l'estat* saith, who of the two hundred millions of Arpens, allowes the Church forty seuen millions, which by particulars of their Vineyards, Meddowes, Arable, Pastures, and Heathes, with their woods, is theret set downe: which

The view of France.

here to followe in particular, were too tedious.

*The spir-
ituall li-
uings.*

Besides this temporall, they haue their *Baïse-mani* (as is said) that consisteth in Churchings, Christnings, Mariages, Burials, Holy-bread, Indulgences, Vowes, Pilgrimages, Feasts, Processions, Prayers for cattell, for seasonable weather, for children, against all manner of diseases, and infinite such purposes; for which the superstitious people will haue a Maile said, which they pay the Priest for, particularly: ouer and besides all this, there is scarce that Arpen in all France, vpon which there is not some *Dirige*, or *de profundis*, some *libera me, Domine*, or some reckoning or other, liable.

*Beccacio,
Noxelia, 9
Giornat 6*

This sort of people are they, whose life is onely spent in speculation, and their speculation such (as appeareth by their liues) as that of *Guido Cauale*, whereof *Beccacio* speaketh, *Queste sue Speculatiory erano solo n cercare, se trouarsi potesse che Iddio non fusse*: These his speculations were onely spent in seeking, whether he could finde that there was no God. These are they, of whom *La Nouë* speaketh, when he sheweth the three causes of the miseries of France, which he findeth in the three States: Irreligion in those that make profession of Religion: Oppression in the Noblesse: And dissolution of manners in the Comminaltie. For (saith he) *Impieté ruine les consciences: Iniuſtice renuerſe les Eſtats: Dissolution gaste les familles*: Impiety ruineth mens consciences: Iniuſtice ouertroweth the Common-Wealth: And Dissolution marreth particular families.

La Nouë.

*Therefor
med Reli-
gion.*

Concerning them of the Retormed Religion, whom here in contempt they call *Huguenots*, yee may note, that the number is not small, considering that after the conference of *Poissy*, aboue thirty yeres since, here were found

The view of France.

2150. Churches of them, whereof not one hath escaped without some murthers, or massacres: and wee may imagine, that since that time, this number is much encreased.

Some say, they had the name of *Huguenots*, of the words wherewith they began their Oration, when they protested against the Church of *Rome*, which began thus, *Huc nos venimus, &c.* Hither we are come, &c. As they say, the *Wallons* were called of these words, *ou allons nous?* whither go we? when they were driuen out of their owne country, asking one another whither they should go. But this is not so likely as that of them, who say, that in *Toures* where they first began, there is one of the Gates, called *Hugoes Port*, out of which they of the Religion vsed to passe into the fields, to make their prayers in their private assemblies: whereupon they had first the name: for, that one *Hugo* should be the first of that opinion, is generally reiected.

I shall not need to say in this place, that this difference in Religion, of these *Catholicks*, and *Huguenots*, is cleere from the slander which many lay vpon them, they being the occasion of all these late troubles in France: for it hath beene sufficiently already proued, that the ambition of the house of *Guise*, and the parts-taking with them, and those other of *Burbon*, is guilty thereof.

As for Religion, it hath onely beene the cloke, and shaddowe of their ambitious pretences, without the which, they could neuer haue insinuated themselves so farre into the hearts of the people, who are alwayes the *gros de la bataille*: The maine Battell: and without whome the Nobilitie may well quarrell, but they cannot fight.

The view of France.

Comment. And therefore ye shall read in some of the same Religion reformed, *That there were Huguenots, as well of Estate, as of Religion.*

Plut. The They haue now free permission to professe, and places allotted for exercise, with all liberty of Conscience possible, saue that in the chiefe Cities of France they haue no Churches allowed, neyther can be buried in Christian buriall (as they call it) if any of them dye among the Catholicks, with whome notwithstanding they now liue peaceably, throughout the Countrey. They cannot haue the fauour that *Xanthippus* allowed his Dogge, who (as *Plutarch* sayth) for following his master from *Attique* to *Salamine*, and there dying, was solemnly interred, and had a monument raised ouer the place. And me thinks, they haue heere small reason to let them liue together in a house, and not to suffer them to lye together in a Church-yard.

Comment. But as for warring any longer for Religion, the Frenchman vicerly delcaymes it, hee is at last growne wise, marry, he hath bought it somewhat deare: *L'Italian est sage auant la main, l'Allemand sur le fait, & le François, apres le coup.* The Italian is wise beforehand; the Almayne, in the doing; and the French, after the thing is done, saith one of their owne Writers. *Néus piscator sapit.*

His Noblese. Concerning the Nobility of France, *Elle est* (sayth *La Noue*) *tres vallengieuse & courtoise: & n'y a Estat en la Chrestienté, ou elle soit en si grand nombre.* They are exceeding valorous and courteous; and there is no State in Chritendome, where they are in so great number.

It hath bene argued before in this Relation, that there be at least fifty thousand, able to beare Armes: but that

is

The view of France.

is thought with the most. *Monsieur du Fay* thinks *Du Fay* them about thirtie thousand; in which number, yee must conclude all degrees of Gentlemen, from the highest to the lowest that beare Armes: for so the French call their *Noblesse*, whereas we in England make two distinct orders of the Nobilitie and Gentry (as they call it) *Nobiles sunt, si modo longam annorum seruium nume-* *Consi. Neq*
rare possunt, quae eundem onusq; militiae eis adnexum, in sua
familia resecantur: Those are Noble, which can proue a long tract of time, wherein a Fee and Knights seruice thereto belonging, hath recided in their family. And another Writer sayth, *In Gallia Nobiles affirmantur ex genere & vita militari*: In France men are esteemed noble, by blood, and profession of Armes.

And sure, if there be difference in Nobilitie, as there must needs bee, because the causes bee different; for some are ennobled by their valour and Martiall knowledge, and others by their Offices and prudence in the manage of matters of Estate; I see no reason, but that these last should be holden the more noble Nobilitie, if I may so say: alwayes giuing the first place to them that are of Noble houses by Race.

For of all these three sorts, the French writers speake, when they say: *Il y a difference des Nobles*: 1. *Les uns par* *Cuius de*
race, 2. *Les autres par annoblissement: et deux sortes d'anno-* *fund.*
blissement: les uns sont annobis par lettres deuement verifiees
en la Cour de Parlement, les autres par le moyen des offices
dont ils sont pourueus. There is a difference of Nobles: The first, by Race: The second, by ennobling: and of Ennobling there are two sorts: One, by Patent duely prooued in the Court of Parliament: The other, by meanes of Offices to which they are aduanced.

The view of France.

*Turq. biff.
Spag.*

And howsoever *Turquet* hereof inferreth, that it is *la vertu que fait la Noblesse, car il y a de nobles vilains, et de vilains nobles*: Vertue which makes Nobilitie, for, there are noble Peasants, and peasantly Nobles. Yet sure it is, that the degenerating of one from the vertue of his Ancestors, cannot preiudice the Nobilitie, nor eclips the glory of his succeder, who, as Histories shew, many times excell all the former of their house.

*Peeres of
France.*

The highest degree of honour in France, is the *Pairrie*, in which order haue beene, sometimes 7. sometimes 11. neuer aboue seventeene, and most commonly 12. Whereupon they are called the *Twelue Peeres of France*. These haue the precedence before al the rest of the Nobilitie, and of these, they of the Bloud, although they were latest called into the *Pairrie*. Of these Peeres, there be sixe of the Clergy: 1. Archbishop & Duke of *Rhemes*. 2. Bishop and Duke of *Laon*. 3. Bishop and Duke of *Langres*. 4. Bishop and Comte of *Beauuass*. 5. Bishop and Comte of *Noyon*. 6. Bishop and Comte of *Chaalons*.

Hail. li. 3.

Of temporall, 1. Duke of *Burgundie*. 2. Duke of *Normandie*. 3. Duke of *Guyenne*. 4. Comte of *Tholouse*. 5. Comte of *Champagne*. 6. Comte of *Flanders*. Since these were first instituted, many other houses haue beene admitted into the *Pairrie*, by the Kings of France, and the olde worne out: As to them of *Burgundie* and *Flanders*, were added the Dukes of *Bretagne*, *Burbon*, *Aniow*, *Berry*, *Orleans*, the Comtes of *Arthois*, *Eureux*, *Alençon*, *Eslampes*, all of the Bloud in *Charles* the fiftes time.

Since also, in the times of *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third, haue new *Pairries* beene erected, as *Neuers*,
Vandoisme,

The View of France.

Fandosme, Guise, Montpensier, Beaumont, Albres, Aumal, Memorency, Vres, Pentheur, Mercoeur, loieuse, Espernon, Rets, Monbason, Vantadoure, and others.

Yee must obserue, that the five ancientest *Pairries* of the temporaltie, are returned to the Crowne, the sixt which is of Flanders, doth recognize it no longer, as now being Spanish.

Some say, these *Paires* (*quasi pares inter se*) as much as *Tiles*, equal among themselves, were first erected by *Charlemagne*: others, by *Hugh Capet*, & others (which is holden for the truest) by *Lewes le ieune*, 1179. to ayd and assist the K. in his Council (saith *Bodin*.) And therefore this Session *Bodin* l. 3. of the King with his *Paires*, was called *Le Parlement sans queuë*: The Parliament with addition: as the Kings brothers and sisters are called *Monsieur*, and *Madame sans queuë*: Whereas all other foueraigne Courts are named with an addition, as *Le Parlement de Paris: le Parl. de Rouen, &c.*

Yee may also obserue, that they of the Laity haue the right hand of the King, and the Clergie the left, in all assemblies or solemne Sessions whatsoever.

I thinke, this diuision of the *Pairrie*, into these 2. sorts, was deriued from that ancient order of the *Gaules*, of whome *Cæsar* speaketh, *Gallorum Nobilium genera duo, Cæsar. Druides, Equites*: Of the Nobilitie of *Gallia*, are two *Comment.* sorts, the *Druides*, and *Gentlemen*: Where he likewise 16. discouereth of their diuers Offices.

This honour of *Paire* of France, was at first giuen for life only, afterwards for them and their heires males, and lastly, to the women also, for default of Males:

The view of France.

Bern, tron. who likewise are called to sit in Councils and assemblies (as are the Queenes of France) as at the Assembly at Blois, and at the Arrest of *Courte de Clermont*, in the time of *S. Lewes*, where the *Countesse of Flanders* is named present among the other Peeres.

Priviled- ged. Yee must note, that Peeres and Princes of the blood, *Ont privilege de n'estre point subiects à la cire verte, si non au*
Haill. 4. 3. cas du premier chef de leze Maisté: They be priviledged from being subiect to any Writ, or Proceſſe, but in case of high Treason: and then also no Proceſſe can be commenced against them, before any other Iudges whatsoever, *que par le Roy seant en sa Court de Parlement suffisamment garnie des Paires de France*: But by the King sitting in his Court of Parliament, sufficiently assisted by the Peeres of France. All other Iudges are incompetent.

Sig. du Plancher. But to leaue the discourse of this highest honour in France, and to speake of the *Noblesse* in generall, ye shall reade in Historie, that at the end of the second Race of Kings, they began to take their surnames of their principall *Feists*: Since when, of later yeeres, some haue contrarily put their surnames vpon their *Feists*, which *Haill. 4. 3.* hath so confounded the *Noblesse* (saith *Haillan*) as it is now hard to finde out the ancient and true Nobilitie.

Voletted La Nouë. These are they, among whome the proverbe is still currant, *Vn homme de guerre ne deuoit sçauoir, si non escrire son nom*: A man of War should haue no more learning, but to bee able to write his owne name: And therefore their profession is only Armes & good horsemanship, wherein if they haue attained any perfection, they little esteeme other vertues, not caring what the Philosopher saith, *Plutarch.* *Vne seule ancre n'est par suffisante pour tenir ferme une grande nauire*: One onely Anchor is not sufficient to hold
 hold

The view of France.

hold a great Ship. Nor considering that the olde Gallants of the world were wont to ioyne the one with the other: and ancient Painters were accustomed to paint the Muses altogether in a troupe, to signify, that in a Nobleman they should not be parted.

Bodin sayth, it is reported of *Cato Censorius*, that hee *Bodin* was a valiant Captayne, a sage Senator, an vpright Iudge, and a great Scholler. The world reputes *Caesar* to haue beene a Politician, an Historian, an Orator, a Warrior, excellent in all. The Poet of Greece sayth, *Homer*, that *Agamemnon* was *Amphontros basileus to agashos, kratotros to aichmetes*: that is, a good Gouvernor, and a tall Soldier. And the Italian Poet sayth of his great *Dante*. Captayne, *Non so se miglior Duca o Cavalliero*;

Resolue I cannot whether he,

A better Chiefe, or Soldier be.

Iust the same with that other verse of *Homer*. And our most worthy English, not Poet (though he well deserue the title) but Captayne and Scholler, both excellent, and titles which better become the noblenesse of his heart and house, of whom the world hath the good name, and all Soldiers the losse: he, I say, when hee would commend his Arcadian Gallant to the full, and yet in few words, sayth, that *he darst and knew*: which well symbolizeth with those former commendations of others, and compriseth all requisit vertues in a Gentleman: for if he haue not valour to dare, and wisdom to know how and when, he wanteth one of the principall supporters of his honour.

The former of these, is, as it were, hereditary to many Noble houses, & continueth therein many descents; but the other is not naturall; it is gotten by studie and

The view of France.

exercise, by reading bookes, and seeing of Countries, and therein curiously obseruing what yce see. So then, if by this your trauell, you adde knowledge and vnderstanding to that other vertue, which is hereditary to your houle, you shall resemble those your Ancestors, by whome it hath beene raised to this greatnesse, and be most vnlike this French Nobilitie (that this may not seeme a digression) of whome, for the most part, we

*Plus, The-
mist.*

may say, as *Plato* said of *Cleophantus*, *Il estoit bien bon homme d'armes, mais au demeurant il n'auoit rien de bon*: Hee was a very tall man at armes, but he had no good quality besides.

And sure, it is a lamentable case, or at least, misbefee-
ming, in a goodly Countrey, and full of Nobilitie, that the State should be gouerned, and all matters managed by them of the *robba longa*, Aduocates and Procureurs, and Penne & Inkeborne Gentlemen, and the Noblesse themselves for want of learning, not to haue employment. I count him therefore a very lame Gentleman, that cannot go to serue his Countrey both in peace and warre.

La Nouë.

Saith *La Nouë* to a Gallant in Court, that was euer talking of warres, and making *Hidalgo*-like *Rhodomontades*, as being vnfit to talke of any matter of learning, or vndertake any Office of gouernment: *Sir* (saith hee) *when the time of warre is come, it is like ye shall be employed, meane while, hauing no qualittie fit for this time of peace, you shall doe well, to locke your selfe vp till the warres, that yee bee not rusty when you should be vsed.*

The occasion of this French humour, so much to esteeme Armes, and nothing at all to regard learning, or it may be oftentimes to contemne both, is imputed

The view of France.

to the carelesse indulgence of Parents, by *Commines*; *Commines*.
Ils nourissent leurs enfans seulement à faire les fots, en habil-
lemens & en parolles: de nulle lettre ils n'ont cognoissance:
 They bring vp their children onely to play the fond-
 lings both in apparell and words, but of learning they
 haue no knowledge at all.

And therefore they cannot communicate with *P.*
Aemilius, in the commendation which *Plutarch* giues *Plut. Aemilius*.
Il ne tenoit seulement de picqueurs & dompteurs des
cheuaux, mais aussi des Maistres de Grammaire, de Rhetor-
ique, & Dialectique, &c. He kept not onely Riders and
 Horse-breakers, but also Teachers of Grammer, Rhe-
 toricke and Logicke, &c. And whereas the first in-
 struction of the Nobility, should be, as one sayth, *La Re-* *Turques.*
ligion, la vertu, les lettres, les Ars, Religion, Vertue, lear-
 ning, and the Artes: And then, *L'Escuyrie, l'Escrime, la*
venerie, la Fauconerie: Horfemanship, Fencing, Hunting,
 Hawking: they skip the first forme, and spend all their
 time in the practise of the last: they prize at a high rate
 the lesser, & let passe the more worthy. Much like those
 Strangers in *Rome*, that carried young Whelps and
 Monkeys in their armes to play withall: What, saith *Ca-*
sar, doe these mens wiues beare them no children?
 wisely taxing the folly of those, that leaue the better for
 the worse.

Hereof it commeth, that the French Noblesse glory-
 ing in their Armes, call themselves, *Le bras de la patrie, les*
gardiens des armes, & la terreur des ennemis: mais jamais ne
s'appellent les professeurs de vertu, saith *la Noue*: The Arme
 of their countrey, the Gardians of Armes, and terror of
 their enemies; but they neuer stile themselves the Pro-
 fessors of vertue.

The view of France.

Du Pay.

This Estate of the Nobility, sayth one, is *Le moindre en nombre des hommes, le moins riche de tous les trois Estats*; of all the three Estates, the smallest in number of men, and poorest in living. Which no question must needs be true, after so long a ciuill Warre: and heerewith accordeth he that wrote the late troubles: sayth hee, *La Noblesse Françoisse est desbue de ses anciennes richesses, dont leurs maisons estoient ornees sous les regus du Loys 12. & François 1.* The French Noblesse is fallen from their ancient wealth, wherewith they were adorned in the times of Lewes 12. and Francis the first. To this purpose sayth *La Nouë*, *le oserois affermer, que si tous ceux qui portent ce titre estoient en dix parts: on trouueroit que les huit sont incommodex par alienations de leurs biens, engagements, ou autres debts*: I durst affirme, that if all they that beare this Title, were deuided into ten partes, eyght of them are impayred by Sales, Morgages, or other debts.

*Dern.
troubl.*

La Nouë.

The same Authour yeeldeth fve reasons of the pouerty of the Noblesse of France. 1. *Les guerres ciuiles*. 2. *depenses superflues en habits*. 3. *depenses en meubles*. 4. *depenses in bastiments*. 5. *depenses de bouche & grosse traine*: First, the ciuill warres. Secondly, superfluous expences in aparrel. Thirdly, houshold stufte. Fourthly, building. Fiftly, Diet and Followers. And in another place, taxing the extreme prodigality, and superfluity of the French in their aparrell, building, and diet, hee sayth, *Si les guerres nous ont apperte 4. onces de pauureté, nos folies nous en ont acquis douze*: If the Warres haue brought vs foure ounces of pouerty, our owne follies haue gotten vs twelue. I will not herein be mine owne Iudge (sayth he) but let vs doe as players at Tennise, be iudged

iudged

The View of France.

iudged by all the lookers on, and they will confesse, that by these excessiue expences, *bon nombre de la Noblesse vont au pas, les autres au trot, et plusieurs en poste, droit aux precipices de pauureté*: A great number of the Noblesse go a foot-pace, others trot, and many runne poste to the downefalls of pouertie.

You had an example hereof in this your late voyage downe the Riuer of *Loire*, at the Castle of *Bury*, a very goodly house, as any ye haue yet seene in France, where ye heard it credibly reported, that *Monsieur D'alluye*, the owner of that place, had consumed aboute twentie thousand Crownes Reuenue the yeere, onely in dyet and apparrell, who now is forced to make his owne house his prison, and stand watchfully vpon his gard, for feare of Sergeants, as we well perceiued by his ielouzy of vs, when we came to see his house, vntil he was assured that we were strangers, and came for no such purpose.

These three at this present, are reputed the richest in all France, the D. *Monpensier* in lands, the D. *a' Espernon* in Offices, and the Chancellor in money.

I should in this relation of the French Nobilitie, doe them great wrong, to belecue and report for truth, what the *Cabinet du Roy*, one of their owne Countrey, saith of *Cab. du roy* them, who according to the seuerall Prouinces, giueth them seuerall Epithites.

The Noblesse of *Berry* (saith he) are *Paillards*, leachers: ”
they of *Tourraine*, are *voleurs*, theeues: they of *Guyenne*, ”
Coyners: they of *Tholouse*, Traytors: they of *Narbonne*, ”
couctous: they of *Prouence*, Atheists: they of *Lionnois*, ”
treacherous: they of *Rheimes*, superstitious: they of ”
Normandy, insolent: they of *Picardie*, proud: and so forth ”
of the rest, ”

T

I will

The view of France.

I will do them more right, and conclude of them, that for priuiledge, and noblenesse of Race, they may compare with any Nobilitie of Christendome. For prooofe of the first, *Le Prince ne prend rien sur luy, que le seruice de l'espee.* The King hath nothing of his Noblesse, but Sword-seruice. And for the second, saith another Author: *La Noblesse Françoisse est composee de si illustres maisons, qu'il s'en trouue, vne douzaine qui viennent de droit ligne de Roys, qui ont posse de paisiblement royaumes:* The French Noblesse is composed of so famous houses, that there are a douzin of them descended by right line from Kings, that haue peaceably possessed Kingdomes.

*Mons. du
Fay.*

*Com. de
l'Estat.*

*His Peo-
ple.*

Having briefly spoken of the two first Estates of France, the *Clergie* and *Nobilitie*; It lastly remaineth I speake of the *People* in general, and namely, of their freedomne of speech, maner of diet, kindes of building, sortes of exercise, fashion of apparell, diuersitie of language, suddainnesse of apprehending, rashnesse in executing, impatience in deliberation, and diuers other natures and humours proper to the Frenchmen; wherein yee shall not looke for a methodicall and large discourse, but a brieve and compendious remembrance of such things, as I haue read and obserued in this Nation.

*Their li-
bersty of
speech.*

It is incredible to beleue, and odious to heare, how the Frenchman will talke, and impudently vtter what hee foolishly conceiueth, not onely of all foraine States and Princes of the world, but euen of their owne State and King himselfe; of whome hee will not spare to speake whatsoeuer hee heareth, and sometimes also more then the truth; which insufferable vice of theirs, I heere put in the first place, because I holde it of all others the most disloyall and vnlawfull. Here-

of

The view of France.

of the wisest sort of them much complaine, & with reformation: but it is a thing so familiar and naturall with them, as — *Expellas furca licet vsq; recurrat.*

Horace,

Le Duc d'Espernu (saith one Author) *se plaignoit de debordemens de ce siecle, et de l'insame licence des François à detrac-*

Dern. troubl.

ter de leur prince: Duke d'Espermon complained of the disorders of the time, and of the infamous libertie of the French, in detracting from their Prince.

This infamous and dissolute libertie of theirs, deserveth to bee censured and chastised by some severe Cato, or to be punished as those insolentouldiers of *Aemilius*, of whome *Plutarch* maketh mention.

Plus, Aemilius.

Boccace in his description of Frier *Onion* his man, reckoneth vp nine of his principall qualities, whereof the first is due to the Frenchman, as appeareth by this which hath already beene said, *Maldicente, disabediente, negligente, trascurato, smemorato, scostumato: sogliardo, bugiardo, sardo:* First, rayling: secondly, disobedient: thirdly, negligent: fourthly, rechelesse: fifthly, forgetful: sixthly, vnmanerly: seuenthly, slovenly: eighthly, lying: and ninthly, slow: And I beleeue, by that time ye haue read this whole discourse, yee will bate him but the last Ace of them all. For, that propertie of slownesse, I must needes confesse, no way is due to the French.

He hath besides this libertie of speaking, a propertie *Their* incident to such like natures: namely, an inquisitiue hearkening and hearkning after newes, which is an olde fashion of theirs, & hath continued with them many hundred yeres. *Est autē hoc Gallica consuetudinis, ut & viatores Caesar. etiam inuitos consistere cogant, & quod quisq; eorum de quaq; re audierit aut cognouerit quarāt: & Mercatores in opidis l. 4. vulgus circumfistat, quibus ex regionibus veniāt quasq; res ibi*

The vice of France.

Id., l. 7.

cognouerint pronunciare cogant : et his rumoribus atque auditionibus permoti, de summis saepe rebus consilia ineunt : quorum eos i vestigio panitere est necesse: It is vsuall with all the Gaules, both to constraîne trauellers (though vnwilling) to stay, and to enquire of each of them, what hee hath heard or vnderstood of euery matter : and with the populace in Townes, to flocke about Marchants, and compell them to tell from what parts they come, and what newes they heard there: and led by these rumours and heare-sayes, they determine many times of most weighty affaires, of which determinations they must needes elsloones repent them.

This vice of his, *Cesar* taxeth in another place, where he saith, *Temeritas, quæ maxime illi hominum generi conuenit, ut leuem auditionem habeant pro re comperta :* It is a rashnesse familiar with that sort of people, to take a light heare-say, for an assured truth.

Their manner of Diet.

Concerning the French diet, it is, to keepe no diet: for they feede at all times, there being among them very few, which besides their ordinary of dinner and supper, do not *gousser*, as they call it, and make collations, three or foure times the day, a thing as vsuall with the women as men, whome ye shall see in open streetes before their dotes, eate and drinke together. No maruell therefore, though the *Italian* calls them the onely gourmands : And no lesse reason haue we to note their disordinate feeding, then *Commynes* had to taxe our nation of drinking, who saith of vs, that he entred into a Tauerne in *Amiens*, to obserue the English mans fashion, *ou ja auoient esté faites cent et onze escots, et n'estoit pas encore neuf heures du matin :* Where had beene already made CXL. seuerall shots, and yet it was not then 9. a clocke in the morning:

The view of France.

morning: For it was no great wonder to haue so many shots (as we call them) or reckonings in a morning, where there were five thousand English Soldiers in the towne, who were newly come from the Campe, where they endured much want, and entertayned with all kindnesse into the towne, vpon a finall peace made betweene our King *Edward* the fourth, and theirs, *Lewes* the eleuenth.

But wee may pay *Communes* with his owne coyne, and reply, that a Frenchman of all other (except the Dutch) hath least cause to taxe vs of drinking: for we may see by many of their noses, what pottage they loue; and they haue among them, a Prouerbe of their Priests (whom it worse becometh then a Soldier) when they will note a matter of difficulty, *Il y a plus de difficulté, qu'à tirer un Prestre de village de la Tauerne*: Tis a harder matter, then to draw a Countrey Priest from the Tauerne.

A Frenchman therefore of all others, hath least reason to finde fault with drinkers,

Quis tulerit Granbos de seditione querentes?

Inuenial.

O who can keepe his patience, when

Poore Herringman scornes Fishermen?

The French fashion (as you see dayly) is to larde all meats, whose prouision ordinary is not so plentifull as ours, nor histable so well furnished: howbeit, in banquetts they farre exceed vs; for he is as *friand* (licourish) as the Trencher-men of *Media*, or *Aesope* the Tragedian, who spent fiftene thousand Crownes at one feast, in the tounge of Birds onely. He liueth not like the Italian, with roots chiefly and herbes: nor like the Lacedemonian, *qui porte le poil rasé, iusques au cuir, se baigne en* *Plus*

eau Lycarg.

The view of France.

eau froid, mange du pain bis, hume du brouët noir: That weares his haire shauen close to his skin, bathes himselfe in cold water, eats browne bread, and suppes blacke broth. Nor like the Scythian, who sayth, *Mibi pulpa-mentum fames, cubile solum, vestis ferarum cutis:* Hunger is my best cheere; the ground, my bed; beasts skinnes, my clothing. But rather of *Alcibiades*, of whome *Plutarch* reporteth, *Estoit trop delicat en son viure, dissolu en amours de folles femmes, desordoné en banquets, trop superflu & effeminé en habits:* He was ouer-delicate in his diet, dissolute in loue of wanton women, exceffiue in banquets, and ouer-superfluous and effeminate in apparell.

Plut, Alcib,

As for the poore *Paisant*, he fareth very hardly, and feedeth most vpon bread and fruits, but yet hee may comfort himselfe with this, that though his fare be nothing so good, as the ploughmans, and poore Artificers in England, yet is it much better then that of the *villano* in Italy.

Their Building.

Of the French building, I haue spoken before in the Relation of *Paris*, both that it is lately growne to bee more magnificent, then it was in former times, and that many thereby haue much weakened their estate.

You may therefore obserue, that as I there sayd, the City of *Paris* was better built then that of *London*: so are in generall, all the Cities and villages in France, fairer then ours in England, comparing the one with the other: which the fairer they were, the more miserable spectacle doe they yeeld to vs now, to see them in many places defaced and ruined.

As for the maner of building heere, how beautifull soeuer it bee to the eye, the Offices and roomes, mee thinks,

72
The view of France.

thinks, are not so well contriued as ours, to the vse. One thing there is, by which they are much beautified, namely, the blewish kinde of Tyle, which heere they haue in great quantity, the which is very hard, and therefore durable; and very thinne and light, and therefore not so burthensome to a house, as is our Tyle in England.

Concerning the Frenchmans Apparell, if ye wel obserue that of the Citizen, both men and women, it is very seemly and decent: that of the *Paisant*, very poore, all whose apparell for the most part, is of linnen: As for that of the Noblesse, ye shall heare what *La Nouë* saith, *La Nouë. Les despenses de la Noblesse en leurs habits sont excessiues, & fort riches*: The Noblesse in their expence in apparell, are excessiue and very rich. And yet, mee thinkes, nothing so rich and costly as ours; the only excessse whereof, is the greatest preiudice and hindrance to the Common wealth, and publike benefite of our countrey.

This Authour reprooueth two things in the French apparrell. First, that euery Gallant forsooth, must haue many suits at once, and change often in the yeere: and therefore (sayth hee) if in the Court they spie one in a sute of the last yeres making, they scoffingly say, *Nous le id, cognoissons bien, il ne nous mordra pas, c'est un fruit suranné*: We know him well enough, he wil not hurt vs, hee's an Apple of the last yeere.

The second thing he dislikes, is this, that *De deux ans en deux ans les façons changent*: Euery two yere the fashion changeth. And heereof it commeth, that when ye see all other Nations paynted in the proper habit of their Countrey, the French man is alwayes pictured

The view of France.

with a paire of sheeres in his hand, to signify, that hee hath no peculiar habit of his own, nor contenteth himselfe long with the habit of any other, but according to his capriccious humour, deuiseeth daily new fashions,

This variety of fashions a man may well note in the *La Nouë*. Fripperies of *Paris*, whereof sayth *la Nouë*, if one would make a purtreict in a table, *rien ne se pourroit voir plus plaisant*: It would bee the most sportfull thing that may bee.

Their exercises. I am now by order to speake of his *Exercises*, wherein, me thinks, the Frenchman is very immoderate, especially in those which are somewhat violent; for ye may remember, ye haue seene them play Sets at Tennise in the heat of Summer, & height of the day, when others were scarce able to stirre out of dores. This immoderate play in this vnseasonable time, together with their intemperate drinking and feeding, is the onely cause, that heere ye see them generally itchy & scabbed, some of them in so foule a sort, as they are vnfit for any honest table.

Palle-maille. Among all the exercises of France, I preferre none before the *Palle-maille*, both because it is a Gentleman-like sport, not violent, and yeelds good occasion and opportunity of discourse, as they walke from the one marke to the other. I maruell, among many more Apish and foolish toyes, which wee haue brought out of France, that wee haue not brought this sport also into England.

Shooting in the peece. Concerning their shooting with the Crossebowe, it is vsed, but not very commonly. Once in a yere, there is in each city a shooting with the Peece at a Poppingay of wood, set vpon some high steeple (as also they doe in

The view of France.

in many places of Germany.) He that hitteth it downe, is called the King for that yere, and is free from all taxes: besides, he is allowed twenty crowns towards the making of a Collation for the rest of the shooters. And if it happen, that three yeres together he carry the Prize, he is free from all tax and imposition whatsoever, all his life after.

This custome, no question, is very laudable, whose end tendeth much to a publike benefit: for by this practice and emulation, he groweth more ready and perfit in the vse of his Peece, and so more able and fit to do his Countrey seruice. And I suppose, if in times past wee had had like Prizes for the long Bow (the ancient glory of our English seruice) we had not so soone quit the exercise thereof, nor degenerate so farre from ancient custome. So doe I thinke, that in these dayes, wherein the Peece is onely prized, if wee had this fashion of France and Germany in England, to reward him in euery place that should best deserue therein, that our Countreyman would grow more perfit & expert in the vse thereof, at whose vnaptnesse and awkwardnesse in their first trayning, before they come to haue serued some time, I haue often maruayled.

He hath also his sports of bowling, carding, dicing, and other vnlawful, and vniuseful games, whereof I will omit to speake, being too common both with them and vs.

As for the exercise of Tennis play, which I aboue re-
membred, it is more here vsed, then in all Christendome
besides; whereof may witnesse the infinite number of
Tennis Courts throughout the land, insomuch as yee
cannot finde that little *Burgade*, or towne in France, that
hath

*Tennis
Play.*

The view of France.

hath not one or moe of them. Here are, as you see, three-score in *Orleans*, and I know not how many hundred there be in *Paris*: but of this I am sure, that if there were in other places the like proportion, ye should haue two Tennis Courts, for euery one Church through France. Methinks it is also strange, how apt they be here to play well, that ye would thinke they were borne with Rackets in their hands, euen the children themselues manage them so well, and some of their women also, as we obserued at *Blois*.

There is this one great abuse in this exercise, that the Magistrates do suffer euery poore Citizen, and Artificer to play thereat, who spendeth that on the Holyday, at Tennis, which hee got the whole weeke, for the keeping of his poore family. A thing more hurtfull then our Ale-houses in England, though the one and the other be bad ynough. And of this I dare assure you, that of this sort of poore people, there be more Tennis Players in France, then Ale-drinkers, or Malt-wormes (as they call them) with vs.

You obserue here, that their Balles are of cloth, which fashion they haue held this seuen yeeres: before which time they were of lether, like ours. Much more might be said of this exercise, but I will not reade you a Lecture in the Schoole of Tennis, whom I confesse the better Scholler.

Dancing. Neither should I speake of Dancing (for my dancing dayes are done) to you that are a Master in the Arte: (like *Phormio* the Rhetoritian, to *Hannibal*, of the warres) saue onely, that I presume, yee will giue mee leaue, for methodes sake, hauing vndertaken to speake of the French exercises, not to omit that of Dauncing, where-
in

The vici of France.

in they most delight, and is most generally vsed of all others. And I am perswaded, were it not for this, that they of the Reformed Religion, may not Dance, being an exercise against which their strait-laced Ministers much inueigh; that there had long since many of the Catholikes turned to their side; so much are they all in generall addicted hereunto. For yee shall not onely see the *Damoiselles* (Gentlewomen) and them of the better sort, but euery poore *Chapperonniere* (draggletayle) euen to the Coblers daughter, that can Dance with good measure, & Arte, all your *Quarantes*, *Leualties*, *Bransles*, & other Dances whatsoeuer: not so much but the *Chambriere* (Chamber-maid) and poore Citizens wife, Dance vsually in the Citie streets, in a round, like our countrey lasses on their towne greene; about the May-pole; making musick of their own voices, without any instrument. And rather then faile, the old women themselves, both Gentle & base, who haue moe toes then teeth, and these that are left, leaping in their heads, like Jacks in Virginals, will beare their part. This argueth (I will not say a lightnes & immodesty in behauiour) but a stirring spirit, & liuelynesse in the French nature: whereof also the Musicke and songs they haue, is no small argument: For there is not almost a tune in all France, which is not *Iomickie*, or *Zydian*, of five or seuen tunes: a note forbidden youth by *Plato*, and *Aristotle*, because, sayth *Bo-Eod. l. 4.* *din*, it hath *Grande force et puissance d'amollir et lascher les rocsœurs des hommes*: Great force and power to soften and effeminate mens minds. The tune *Doricke*, which is more graue musicke, and was commaunded for the singing of Psalmes in the Primitiue Church,

The view of France.

their inconstant and stirring humor cannot brooke by any meanes.

Their
Language

It remaineth, I speake of their *Language*, of whome the *Italian* hath a prouerbe: *I Francesi non parlano, como scriuono, non cantano, como metano, non pensano, como diceno*: The French neither pronounce as they write, nor sing as they pricke, nor thinke as they speake. In which first point, they differ from the *Latine*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *Greeke*, who fully pronounce euery letter in the word: whereas the French, to make his speech more smooth, and *cantante* (as hee termes it) leaues out very many of his consonants, whereby it now is growne almost as sweete a tongue to the eare, as the *Italian* or *Greeke*: which two, by reason of the many vowels, are questionlesse the most delicate languages of the world.

Suetonius.

It is written of *Augustus* the Emperour, that he obserued no Orthography, but wrote alwayes as he spake, which fashion begins now to be vsed by late writers: as ye may obserue in many of their late impressions: a thing vtterly condemned by them of best iudgement: for saith one, *While they diuide the customs of writing from the nature of the word, ils ont tout renuersé l'escripature*: They haue vtterly ouerthrowne their Orthography.

Ludo. Re-
gus.

Rob. Steph

That which *Scaliger*, by the report of *Stephanus*, saith of the Greeke tongue, that it is, *redundans*, redundant: the same may wee say of the French, that it is *basillard*, full of tittle tattle, nothing so graue or ponderous, as the *Spanish*, nor so stately as the *Italian*. And hereof I thinke it cometh, that they say commonly, the French is a tongue *d'amours*, Amourous: the *Spanish*, *de la guerre*, Warlike: and the *Italian*, *de la Court*, Courtly.

Haill. li. 3.

Much agreeing with this, is that of *Haillan*, where speaking

The view of France.

speaking of the battell of Agincourt, he saith, *Les Anglois nous ont souvent vaincu en batailles, mais nous les auons vaincu en nos traittez de paix: tant belles et subtiles sont nos paroles, et pleines de mignardises:* The English haue often ouercome vs in battels, but wee haue overcome them in our Treaties of peace, so faire and subtil are our words, and so full of entising delicacy. Whereby it should seeme, it is a winning and perswading language. But this is onely the opinion of themselves, who are dotingly more in loue with their owne tongue, then with any other: which is the reason, that yee haue now almost all Histories, Greeke, and Latine, translated into French, yea, and the Artes also: insomuch as now the Gentleman readeth these things in his owne language onely: a course in my opinion most preiudicial to all good learning.

- There is one reason, methinks, about all other, why the Frenchman affects to haue his tongue delicate and smooth, namely, for that rather then hee will lose the mignardise thereof, contrary to all rules of Grammar, and all other tongues, he obserueth no gender, where it may hinder the sweetnesse of the pronounciation (an Italian fault this, to take the Masculine for the Feminine: the more beast he.)

It remaineth (this French tongue being no Mother tongue of it self) that we obserue of what other tongues it borroweth. *Cæsar* saith, *Galli literis Græcis utebantur: Cas. Com.* The Gauls vsed Greeke Characters: which Character, as 1, 6, we read in Histories, hath beene changed by three diuers men, *Wastaldus, Doracius, Hichius:* where the same Writer saith, that *Bede*, our countryman, inuented a particular Alphabet for the *Normans*.

The view of France.

*Ind. Re-
gins.*

Howsoever the letter be changed, true it is, that they haue heere many words deriued from the Greeke, and agree very much also therewith in the phrase and manner of speaking. And therefore, as *Lu. Regius* sayth well of our English, that it is compounded of the French & Almaine: so iudgeth he rightly of the French, that it is the daughter of the Latine and Greeke: for, as for that which it hath common with the Italian, both in word and phrase (which is very much) the Italian, no questiō, had it from hence, this French being the more ancient Language; and this nation hauing left in Italy, with the memory of many great victories, the vse also of many of their words, as by all Historie appeareth, without which, at this day the Italian could not serue himself of his owne.

True it is, that now of late, the French, especially in the Court, haue gotten many of theirs in vse, for a grace forsooth, not of necessity; wherein they much resemble vs of England, who (they say) send diuers skinnes into other countries, which those people vse to their necessity, and make toyes and bables of the rayles, which they returne backe againe to vs, at as great a rate, as they bought the whole.

Concerning the difference betweene the language vsed at this day, and that of former times, ye are to obserue, that all things in this world haue their beginnings, growings, perfection, corruption and alteration: As maners of liuing, formes of gouernment, abrogation of Lawes, change of Militarie seruice, new-fanglenesse of habit, new fashion of building, diuersities of Armour, new inuentions of instruments, &c. And of all these, none more subiect to change, then Language,
nor

The view of France.

nor no language in the world more then this of the French.

For as *Polibius* sayeth of the *Romans*, that when they should conclude a Peace, after the second *Punicke* warre with them of *Carthage*, that they could not reade the Articles of the first, so much was the Character: And as *Linie* saith of the song which the *Sabin* Priestes vsed in their sacrifice, that they were so olde Latine, they could not be vnderstoode: And as wee may say of our *English*, that it very much differeth from that of *Chaucers* time: so saith *Lu. Regius* of the *French* tongue, *Lu. Regius.* that within these fiftie yeeres, it is almost growen a new language, and which still like the French apparell euery yeere altered.

If you aske me what Authours of the French I most approoue? I durst commend *Commines*, *Bodin*, *Plessie*, *Bertas*, for Historie, Policie, Diuinitie and Moraltie, with the best: and great pitie it is, that the Historie of the first is written in no better French. But if you demand the best Authours, for the language it selfe, I thinke, as *Tuscaine* hath a *Dante* and a *Petrarch*, *Greece* an *Isocrates* and a *Demosthenes*, *Rome* a *Cicero* and a *Cesar*, we a *Sydney* and a *Chaucer*: so, *France* hath a *Bertas* and a *Romfart*, in this kinde most recommendable. For the place of best language, yee must euer obserue, that the farther from Sea, the better speakers, as *Athens* in *Gracia*, *Florence* in *Italy*, *Saxonie* in *Almany*, *Perfes* in *Asia*, *Castile* in *Spaine*, and *Orleans* here, and many other places.

It now remaineth I speake of the French nature and Their humour: which by the change of his speech, apparrell, sure and building, humour.

The view of France.

building, by his credulity to any tale which is told, & by
1. In De. his impatience & haste in matter of deliberatiō, where-
liberati- of I shall not omit presently to speake, ye may iudge to
ons. be very idle, wauering and inconstant. Saith one, Gallo-
Reade rum ut pronuntiatio celerissima, illi quoque ingenia mobilia
fra. lingua sunt: As the Frenchmens pronuntiatio is very fast, so
are their wits very wauering. And yee shall reade in
Caesars Cōmentaries very often, how hee taxeth them of
this legerity and suddenesse: *His de rebus Caesar certior
factus, et infirmitatem Gallorum, veritus (quod sua in consiliis
capiendis mobiles, et nouis plerumq; rebus studeat) nihil his cō-
missum dūm existimauit: Caesar being entormed of these
matters, and fearing the vnstablensse of the Gaules (as be-
ing sudden and wauering in their resolutions, and gene-
rally desirous of innouation) he thought fit not to trust
them. And in another place, Cum intelligeret Caesar omnes
fere Gallos nouis rebus studere, & ad bellum mobiliter celeri-
terque incitari, &c. Caesar vnderstanding, that almost all
the Gaules were naturally hungry of change, and vncon-
stantly, and suddenly stirred to warre, &c. And againe,
Ces. Com. *Us sunt Gallorum subita et repentina consilia*: As the resolu-
lib. 4. tion of the Gaules are sudden, and vnlooked for, &c.*

To conclude, if yee will rightly knowe the nature
& humor of the ancient Gaules, ye must read the sixt of
these Commentaries, and you shal obserue how strange
it is, that though all other things in the world are sub-
iect to change, yet the same nature of lightnesse and in-
constancy still remaines in the French. This is aptly
Com. li. 3. shewed by Haillan, in his description of Lewis the ele-
lib. uenth: *Auoit-il une chose? soudain ill auoit affection d' une
autre: estoit vehement, actif et impatient*: If hee had one
thing, hee straight casts his affection to another, being
violent,

The view of France.

violent, busy-headed and impatient.

To this accordeth another of their owne writers, 2. In
La condition de la France est telle, que s'il n'y a debat par de- matter of
hors contre les grands, il faut qu'el'e eust avec ses domestiques, warre.
et que son esprit ne peut estre en repos: Such is the condition *Com. cap.*
of France, that if thee haue no Warres abroad against 44.
powerfull neighbours, thee must haue broyles at home
among her owne Subiects, and her working spirits can
neuer remaine long quiet. And therefore *Tacitus* calles
them, *Leuissima hominum genera*: The most fickle kinde
of men; sudden to begin and more sudden to ende, ap-
ter to apprehend the action, then comprehend the
cause, ready to lay hold, not able to hold fast: as by the
making and reuoking of so many Edicts, against the Re- *Dern.*
formed Religion in so fewe yeeres, by the winning and *troub.*
losing of *Naples* and *Millaine* in so short time, and by *Gnicciard*
many other their actions appeareth. *lib. 5.*

For yee must obserue of the French, that he entreth
a Countrie like thunder, and vanisheth out againe like
smoke: hee resembleth the Waspe, who after the first
stroke, loseth her sting, and can hurt no more.

He sheweth this his lightnesse and inconstancie, not
onely in matters of seruice and warre, (whereof I haue
before made mention) but also euen in other his actions
and carriages: But in nothing more, then in his fami-
liaritie, with whome a stranger cannot so soone bee off
his horse, but he will be acquainted; nor so soone in his
Chamber, but the other like an Ape will bee on his
shoulder: and as suddenly and without cause yee shall
lose him also. A childish humour, to bee wonne with
as little as an Apple, and lost with lesse then a Nut:
Quite contrarie to the nature of the *Italian*, of whome

The view of France.

yeeshall in your trauell shortly obserue, that he is of too sullen and retired a fashion, & a *loup-garou* (as the French man calles him) wherein I would haue you obserue the vertue of the English man (for vertue is a mediocrity betweene two extremes) who is neyther so childishly and Apishly familiar, as the French; nor so scornefully and Cynically solitary as the other.

4. In managing a quarrell.

So are we in matter of duell and priuate quarrell, in a meane, me thinks, betweene these two Nations: for we are neither so deuillishly mindfull of reuenge, as to tarry seuen or ten yeres for an opportunity vpon our enemy, as doeth the Italian: nor so inconsideratly hasty, as we must needs eyther fight to day, or be friends to morrow, as doth the French. Hereat *Rablais* scoffingly glanceth, where he telleth a tale of a *Gascoigne*, that hauing lost his money, would needs in the heat of his choller fight with any man that bore head: and for want of an enemy fell asleepe. By that time he was waking, comes mee another *Rhodomonte*, and vpon like cause of losse, would haue this fellow by the eares: but then the edge of this other was off. In conclusion (sayth *Rablais*) they went both to the Tauerne, and there for want of money which they had lost at Dice, drunke themselues friends vpon their swords, without farther meditation, or troubling of others to take vp the quarrell.

Of the French carriage and manage of a quarrell, how childish and ridiculous it is, ye haue already seene two or three examples, wherein the parties haue neyther shewed iudgement, to know their owne right, nor valor to reuenge their wrong: whereas the English Gentleman, with mature deliberation disputeth how farre his honour is engaged, by the iniury offered, and

The view of France.

and iudiciously determineth his maner of satisfaction, according to the quality of the offence: which done, hee presently imbarqueth himselfe into the action, according to the prescription of the olde rule, *Postquam consulueris, maturè opus est factò*: Wise resolutions should be speedily executed. Salust.

I will heere remember you of one other instance more, wherein our Countrey men keepe the golden meane, betweene the two extremes of defect and excellence, and wherein these two Nations of Italy and France are culpable, and heere worthily to be taxed.

We may say of the Italian, who maketh his house his wiues prison, as *Plutarch* sayth of the Persians, *Sont de nature estrangement & cruellement ialouzes des femmes, non seulement de celles qu'ils ont espouses, mais aussi de leurs esclaves: & de leurs concubines, lesquelles ils gardent si estroitement que personne ne les void iamais dehors, ains demeurent tousiours renfermées en leurs maisons*: They are by nature strangely and cruelly iealous of their women, not onely of their wiues, but also of their slaues and Concubines, whom they gard so straitly, that they are neuer seene abroad, but remayne alwayes locked vp in their houses: Whereas the French liberty on the other side is too much: for here a man hath many occasions offred vpon any small entrance, to come acquainted; and vpon enery leaft acquaintance, to enter, where he may come to her house, accōpany her arme in arme in the streets, court her in all places, & at all seasons, without imputation. Wherein, me thinks, the French married man doth as *Plutarch* reports of *Pericles*, take away the walles & fences of his orchards & gardens, to the end euery man might freely enter and gather fruit at his pleasure. 5. In Gouerning his wife. Plut. Themist. Id. Pericl.

The view of France.

No maruell then, the bridle being left in their owne hands, though sometimes they be saddled, & their husbands know not. You may obserue therefore, that in this matter of wedlocke also, the English vse is better then either the Italian or French.

6. In apt-
nesse to
scoffe.

It is also naturall to the French, to be a great scoffer; for men of light and vnsteadie braines, haue commonly sudden and sharpe conceites. Hereto also their language well agreeth, as being currant and full of prouerbes; to which purpose I will remember you of two answeres, not long since made by two Frenchmen, with one of which you are well acquainted, wherein also you may obserue, how little esteeme they hold of the *Romane* Religion in heart, though they make profession thereof in shew.

The one of these being very sicke, & as was thought, in danger of death, his ghostly father comes to him with his *Corpus domini*, and tels him, that hearing of the extremitie wherein he was, he had brought him his *Sauour*, to comfort him before his departure. The sicke Gentleman withdrawing the Curtaine, and seeing there the fat lubberly Frier with the *Oast* in his hand, answereth, I know it is our *Sauour*; he comes to me as he went to Ierusalem, *C'est vn asne qu'il porte*: He is carried by an Asse.

The other Gentleman vpon like danger of sicknesse, hauing the Frier come to him to instruct him in the Faith, and after, to giue him the *Oast*, and then the extreme vnction (it was on a Friday) tolde him that hee must belecue, that this *Corpus domini* which he brought, was the very reall flesh, blood and bone of our *Sauour*. Which after the sicke man had freely confessed, the

Frier

The view of France.

Frier offered it him to receyue for his comfort. Nay, quoth the other, *Vous m'excuserez, car ie ne mange point de chair le vendredi*: You shall excuse me, for I eate no flesh on Fridayes. So that yee see the French will rather lose his god, then his good iest.

The French humour also (sayth one) *est incompatible Bolde, avec patience & modestie*: cannot away with patience & modesty. And therefore another sayth of him, that he is as shamefast and modest, *comme vn Page de la Cour*: La Nouë. as a Page of the Court. Or as *Hiperbolus*, who, *Plutarch* *Plut.* saith, for his boldnesse and saucy impudency, was the *Alcib.* only Subiect in his time for all Satyricks and Commedians to worke vpon.

He is also such a one, as *Theophrastus* calles, *Duscherès*, *Vncieanly* i. *immundus*, vncleanly, *Qui lepra & utiligine laborans*, *Theopb.* *unguesq; habens prelongos inter homines versatur, ac dicit* *Character* *gentilistios esse hos morbos, nam & patrem & auum fuisse eis obnoxios*: Who being leprous and scabby, and wearing long vnpared nayles, thrusts himselfe into company, and sayes, those diseases come to him by kind; for both his Father and his Grandfather were subiect vnto them.

Hee is *Adolésches*, i. *loquax*, Talkatiue, *Qui præ Talkatiue quauis Hirundine garrulus videri malit, quàm tacere, adeo se irrideri fert patientem*: Who had rather seeme more chattering then a Swallow, then hold his peace; so willing is hee to make himselfe ridiculous. With which people (it is strange) ye shall talke all day, & yet at night not remember whereof hee hath talked; such multiplicity of words he hath, and so idle is the matter whereof he treateth.

Hee is *Acairos*, i. *intempestiuus*, vnseasonably trouble. *Trouble.* some, *some.*

The view of France.

Id. ibid.

somic, qui ad amicum occupatum accedens, vult re in-communicata cum illo deliberare: VWho comming to his friend full of bulinesse, will giue him counsell, before he haue imparted the matter vnto him: And therefore they themselues haue here a prouerbe, *Prendre quelqu' vn de Gallico*: To surprise one after the French fashion, when they take one of a suddaine, comming vnlooked for and vnent for. Of which kind of people, *Theophrastus* bids vs beware, where he saith: *Id genus homines demissis manibus granatq; gradu fugias oportet, quisquis febre carere vult: difficile est enim cum ijs durare, qui neq; otij, neq; negotij tempora distinguere norant*: If you will not bee troubled with a fit of Ague, you must run as fast as your legs can carie you from such kind of men: for it is very troublesome liuing with fellowes, that cannot distinguish the seasons of leysure and affaires.

*Vainely
proude.*

He is *Microphilotimos*. i. *Ineptè circa res paruas superbus*: Proud of trifles, qui, si bouem sacrificarit, solet anteriorem capitis eius partem magnis redimitam sercis praeforibus in ipso introitu figere, vt intelligant qui ingrediuntur, bouem ab ipso maculatum. Et si minam argenti soluere debeat, laborat vt soluet in Aspero: VWho, if he haue sacrificed an Oxe, useth to nayle vp the head and hornes at his gate, that all that come to him, may take notice that he hath kild an Oxe. And if he bee to pay fortie shillings, will be sure to pay it in new-coynd money. This is hee that comes to the Tennis Court, throwes his Purse full of coyne at the line, which giueth a sound, as if there were no lesse then thirtie or fourtie Crownes, when as sometimes by mischance, we haue discovered that it was nothing, but Paper, and a fewe Sols, and doubles of Brasse, that made it so swell, in all, scarce eighteene pence sterling.

He

The view of France.

He is *Alazon*. i. *Ostentator*, A Craker: *Qui ad eos accedens qui generosos equos vendunt, velle se emere simulat: et inmundinis ad tentoria eorum qui merces vanum exponunt, appropinquans, vestem sibi ostendi iubet duum talentorum: demum, (cum de precio conuenit) puerum, quod se sine auro sequitur, graniter obiurgat:* Who comming to such as haue great horses to sell, makes them belecue hee will buy some: And at great Faires, drawing to their shops that sell apparell, calls to see a sute of an hundred pound: and when they are agreed of the price, fals out with his boy, for following him without his purse. Such a one was the gallant, of whome yee tolde me this other day, who in the middest of his discourse with you and other Gentlemen, suddenly turnes backe to his Lackie, Fetch me, saith he, my *Horologe*, Clocke, it lies in my lodging in such or such a place, neere such or such a Iewell. The *Lalero* returnes with a *non est inuentus*. My French gallant streight bethinkes himselfe that it is in his pocket (which hee knew well enough before) which presently he pulls out, not so much to shew how the time passeth, (whereof he takes little care) as the curiouse of the worke, and the beautie of the case, whereof hee is not a little brag & enamoured. To speake thus particularly of all his severall humours and customes, would bee very prolix, and not much necessarie: I wil only referre you to the fourth of *Tullies Rhetorickes*, where he speaketh of a bragging Rhodomonte, and to the first booke of *Horace Satyres*, speaking of an endles & needles prater, a fastidious & irksome companion, where you shall see the French *naturel*, very liuely & admirably well described.

I will onely speake of his impatience and precipitacion in deliberations of Warre or Peace, and such other
Boasting of things nothing worth.
Rhet. ad Herren. Satyr. I. I. sa. 9.
Hastie to conclude a Peace,

The view of France.

affayres of greatest importance, and so end. To this effect Bodin saith of him, *Le naturel du François est si soudain & actif, qu'il quiste ce qu'on demande, annoyé des allées & venues, & de longueurs propres à l'Espagnol*: The French is of so sudden & busy a disposition, that he quickly yeelds to that a man demands, being soone tired with messages to & fro, and other delayes peculiar to the Spanyard. And in another place, *On desire en l'Espagnol vne promptitude plus grande qu'il n'a: & au François les actions & passions plus moderées*: The Spanyard had need of a more ready dispatch then he hath, & the French of more moderatiō in his actions and passions. And whereas *Commines* saith of vs, that we be not *si subtiles en traittez et appointements comme les François*: so crafty in our treaties & agreemēts, as the French. I thinke, sauing the credit of so great an Author, he might better haue said, *si eslourdez & precipitez*: so headstrong and precipitate. But where he saith, that he that will treat & determine matters with vs, must haue *un peu de patience*, a little patiēce: I yeeld vnto him, he hath good reason so to say; for his Countrymen, the French, can endure no delay; they must propound and cōclude all in one day. Whether of theſe be more praiseworthy *Plutarch* thus decideth: *Agatharcus* bragged of his ready and quick hand, & that he painted faster then any other; which *Zeuxes* vnderſtāding, And I, quoth he, quite contrary, doe glory in this, that I am long in the doing; for ordinarily ſuch ſuddenneſſe and facility can not giue eyther a laſting firmneſſe, or a perfect beauty to the worke. Therefore ſaith one very well, *That ſhould bee long in deliberation, that muſt be reſolued but once*. To this agreeeth the ſaying of *Pericles* to *Tolmides*, *We muſt tarry the time, which is the wiſeſt Counſeller we can haue*.

By

The view of France.

By this haste of theirs, they lost more, saith *Bodin*, by *Bodin l. 5.*
one Treatie at *Cambrey*, Anno 1559. to the *Spaniard*,
then he had before got of the *French* in fortie yeeres by
Warre.

And I see no reason, but this present Peace which the *French* hath made, is as aduantageous to the *Spanish* State, *Of this*
as was that other, considering it is as great a gaine to saue *Fra.* and
that we are like to lose, as to get that from another, which is not *Sp. in 98.*
our owne. For as it is truly said of the *Spanish* King, that
hee hath not got vpon the *French* (money by victories,
but victories by money:) And as *Plutarch* saith of *Philip* *Plut. P.*
of *Macedon*, It was not *Philip*, but his golde and siluer, *Acmil.*
that tooke the townes of *Greece*: So may we say of his
Treaties which hee hath had with *France*, whereunto
hee hath of force beene driuen, euen as *Ennius* saith of *Ennius.*
Fabius:

Our State, which witleffe force made wayne,
His wise delays made waxe agayne.

For that this nation will rather yeeld the enimie what
he demandeth, then bee troubled with long deliberati-
on: a thing so contrarie to his nature, as nothing more.

You may obserue by the course of later Histories, that
the *Spaniards* purpose was to deale with *France*, as *Al-* *Plut.*
cibiades said, the *Athenians* would deale by them of *Pa-* *Alcib.*
tra: They will eate you out by litle and litle. To which
purpose, in all these late ciuill Warres, King *Philip* play-
ed the Fire-brand, like the Priests of *Mars*, who, when *Bodin l. 4.*
two Armies were met, threw fire betweene them for a
signall of battell, to set them together, and then retired
themselues from the danger. He set the *Popes* on also to
kindle this fire, who were but Barkers, and could not
bite; their leaden Buls did but butt; they could not hurt;

The view of France.

abler to curse then to kill: whose force is like that of a
Whet-stone,

Plat. Peri.

Which though it sharpnesse lacke,

Yet yron sharpe can make.

But when hee saw that little England (which is to
Spaine, as *Alcibiades* said, the Ile Aegina was to Athens,
Vne paille en l'ail, a mote in his eye) did trump in his way,
and crosse his designs: and when as hee considered,
that (as *Henry* the second of France, was the only cause
of hindering his father *Charles* the first, from vsurping vp-
on all *Germanie*, for which cause hee is called in their
publike writings, *The Protector of the Empire, and deliuerer
of the Princes*;) So her Maiestie, by defending the oppres-
sed, and withstanding his Forces, deserueth the Title of
Protectrix of France, and deliuerer of the Estates: Hee was
then content to motion a Peace, and like a false friend,
when he could doe no more hurt, to shake hands. Here-
vpon he did capitulate to render *Calais, Duriens, Ardres,
Blancs*, and other places conquered or surprised vpon
the French. A courte, no question, wisely taken by the
Spaniard, considering the termes wherein hee stode;
the want of money hee had, the credit hee had lost in all
Bankes, the decrepit age wherein he was, and lastly, the
sudden and incredible good fortunes of the French
King and State, after so many yeres of miserie and losse.
As for the French, what could he haue done, more dis-
honourable to himselfe, or profitable to his enemies, or
preiudiciall to his late Allies? what lesse agreeing with
the time, with his cause, with his oath, then to yeeld to
this peace? But it hath bene an old trick of the French,
to obserue neither promise, nor oath, as *Clouis* the first
saith, *Haill. lib. 1.* Wee may say of their purpose, as

Plutarch

The view of France.

Plutarch of Lisanders: Children are deceived with chance. bones, and men with oaths. *Plut. Pe-lop.* In this schoole of Fraude, Pope *Iulius 2.* was well read, who professed to his priuate friends, that all the Treaties which he made with the Princes of *France, Germanie, and Spaine,* was but to deceive the one of them by the other. But let the French take heede there come not a day of payment for this, who are so hastie to abandon their friends, and make peace with their foes, onely vpon a foolish nature of theirs, to desire change, and to enioy their present ease and pleasure, not foreseeing future daungers: like Schoole-boyes, who care not, so they may play to day, though they be briteht to morrow. When the Dukes of *Burgondie, Berrie, and Bretaine,* were combined against *Lewes the 11. of France* (as were lately *England, France, and States* against *Spaine*) the counsell of *Francis Zforce* to the King, was, for the present, to agree to all things they desired, and after (saith hee) in short time, ye shall haue occasion when they are disleagued, to deale with them one by one. And we may well say of this King present, as the Count *Charollois* feared of *Commynes* the Duke of *Berris* the French Kings brother: That he *cap. 24.* was a likely man to be soone drawen to agree, & leaue vs in the mire: forgetting the olde sentence: It is the *Id.* true signe of the approaching ruine of a Countrey, when those that should holde together, diuide themselves, and abandon one another. And howsoeuer for the present, the French bragge to be gayners by the bargayn, I am sure, their Allies haue no part of the *Ga-Heau, Cake.* It is true therefore, that *Commynes* saith, There was neuer so plentifull a marriage feast, but some went without their dinners. Wherein, me thinks, we haue great wrong, to beare a burden with them in their

The view of France.

Warres, and not to partake with them in the benefit of their Peace. *Maximilian* the first Emperour said, hee made Peace for no other end with *Lewes* the twelfth, but to be reuenged of seuentene wrongs he had done him. The King present, by the policie of this age, and law *Talionis*, might say and doe the like to the *Spaniard*, not for seuentene wrongs, but for seuentene yeeeres wrongs hee hath receiued: which when hee shall haue done, it is but quittance, and the other shall be but iustly serued: for saith *Bodin*, *He which is falsly dealt with, ha-ving himselfe first played false, hath no cause to complaine.* And surely, the French must againe shortly bee doing, with him or some other, or at least one with another at home: he will soone be as wearie of Peace, as he is now of warre. *La nation Françoisse est insolent en pain, impatiente de demurer long temps en la maison:* The French nation is insolent in Peace, & impatient of tarrying long at home.

¶ Thus haue you a superficiall survey of this Country and People of *France*, of whom we may conclude with *La Nouë*. *Plus de la moitié de la Noblesse est perie, le peuple diminué, les finances espuisées les debts accrueës, la discipline renuersee, la pieté languissant, les moeurs desbordées, la iustice cor-ruptue, les hommes diuisés:* More then halfe the Noblesse is perished, the people diminished, the Treasure exhausted, the debts increased, good Order ouerthrowen, Religion languished, maners debauched, Iustice corrupted, and the men diuided.

I make no doubt, but to these slender obseruations, you wil after adde better of your own Collection, vsing this onely as the patterne of a method, how to discourse of the Cosmography, Policie and Oeconomy of such other Countries wherein you shall trauaile.

F I N I S.